

The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1895.

CRITICAL NOTES ON CLEM. AL. *STROM.* VII.

(Continued from page 342.)

[I have to thank the representatives of the late Dr. Hort for allowing me to print here his emendations (marked by the letter H.) on the earlier portion of Book vii.]

§ 1, p. 828. ὡς ἀναμαθόντας τοὺς φιλοσόφους οἷός τ' ἐστὶν ὁ τῷ ὄντι Χριστιανὸς τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀμαθίας καταγινῶναι. Read τίς for τέ. H.

Ib. Put colons after συγγραφήσόμενοι and τὰς λέξεις αὐτῶν. H.

§ 2, p. 829. Colon after θρησκευόντα. H.

Ib. τὴν ἄχρονον ἀναρχον ἀρχὴν τε καὶ ἀπαρχὴν τῶν ὄντων. Heinsius and Potter print ἄχρονον καὶ ἀναρχον without any note. As Dindorf also has no note, I think he has here, as often, inadvertently followed Klotz without MS. authority. Just below we have παρ' οὗ ἐκμανθάνειν τὸ ἐπέκεινα αἰτίων. I think we should read the indicative for the infinitive.

§ 3. There are two kinds of θεραπεία towards men, ἡ μὲν βελτιωτική, ἡ δὲ ὑπηρετική· ἱατρικὴ μὲν σώματος, φιλοσοφία δὲ ψυχῆς βελτιωτική. γονεῖσιν μὲν ἐκ παίδων καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ἐκ τῶν ὑποταγμένων ὑπηρετικὴ ὠφέλεια προσγίνεται. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κ.τ.λ. For the 3rd μὲν read δέ, and put a comma before γονεῖσιν. C. continues τὴν μὲν βελτιωτικὴν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι σώζουσιν εἰκόνα, τὴν ὑπηρετικὴν δὲ οἱ διάκονοι. ταύτας ἀμφω τὰς διακονίας ἀγγελοὶ τε ὑπηρετοῦνται τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὴν τῶν περιγεῖων οἰκονομίαν καὶ αὐτὸς κ.τ.λ. As we have had two θεραπείαι mentioned, one of which is

that of διάκονοι, I think that διακονίας may be a corruption of θεραπείας, caused by the preceding διάκονοι.

P. 830. θεραπεία φυτῶν ἀρίστη καθ' ἣν γίνονται οἱ καρποὶ καὶ συγκομίζονται ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἐμπειρία γεωργικῇ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν παρεχομένη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Put a comma before καθ' ἣν and after γεωργικῇ, and read with Potter παρεχομένη; otherwise we ought to have had αὐτῶν παρεχομέναις.

Ib. ἡ δ' ἡ θεοπρέπεια ἕξις ἐστὶ...θεοφιλὴς ὁ θεοπρεπὴς μόνος. I prefer to read εἰ, which seems to be the original reading in the MS.

Ib. ὁ εἰδὼς τὸ πρέπον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ κατὰ τὸν βίον, ὅτ' ὦ βιωτέον ἐσομένῳ...θεῷ. Read ὅπως. H. I should prefer οἷον.

P. 831. δεισιδαίμων δὲ ὁ δεδιὼς τὰ δαιμόνια, ὁ πάντα θειάζων καὶ ξύλον καὶ λίθον, καὶ πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπων τε λογικῶς βιοῦντι καταδεδουλωμένος. So D. after Sylburg for the ἀνθρώπων...βιοῦντα καταδεδουλωμένον of the MS. Lowth is right in keeping to the MS., except that we should read καταδεδουλωμένος with middle force. H.

§ 5, p. 831. πίστις οὖν τὸ εἰδέναι θεὸν ἡ πρώτη. Read perhaps εἶναι. H. The author continues μετὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος διδασκαλίας τὴν πεποιθήσιν τὸ κατὰ μηδὲνα τρόπον ἄδικα δρᾶν, τοῦτ' εἶναι πρέπον ἡγέσθαι τῇ ἐπιγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ. Put a comma between πρώτη and μετὰ (Dindorf has no stop) and also after πεποιθήσιν, and insert δὲ after μετὰ. If we keep εἰδέναι, perhaps ἐνεργεῖ, proposed by Lowth, should be inserted after it.

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§ 5, p. 831. κράτιστον δὲ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄγγελος, τὸ πλησsiaίτερον...τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς μεταλαγχάνων. Read μεταλαγχάνων.

Ib. τούτῳ πᾶσα ὑποτάσσεται στρατιὰ ἀγγέλων...τὴν ἁγίαν οἰκονομίαν ἀναδεχόμενῳ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα, δι' ὃν καὶ πάντες αὐτοῦ οἱ ἄνθρωποι. For ὃν read ὅν. [So also H. who gives the ref. to Rom. viii. 20.]

§ 6, p. 832. Comma after πείθει instead of D.'s full stop. H.

Ib. οὐ γὰρ βιάζεται τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν διὰ τοῦ...ἀποπληρῶσαι τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ...δυνάμενον. Read αὐτοῦ in each case. [So H.]

Ib. σωτὴρ γὰρ ἐστίν, οὐχὶ τῶν μὲν, τῶν δ' οὐ, πρὸς δὲ ὅσον ἐπιτηδεύοντος ἑκάστος εἶχεν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διένειμεν εὐεργεσίαν. Put a comma after τῶν δ' οὐ and read δέ for δὲ.

§ 7, p. 832. ἄγνοια γὰρ οὐχ ἄπεται τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου συμβούλου γενομένου τοῦ πατρὸς. Insert νιόυ τοῦ before θεοῦ. H.

Ib. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν σοφία ἣ προσέχαιρεν ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεός. Insert ἣ before σοφία. H.

§ 8. σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐν πάθειαν οὐχ ὑπεριδών. Read ἐμπάθειαν, comparing ἐμπαθές in the last §. H.

Ib. οὗτος ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν...αἴτιος ὁ νιός καθίσταται. Read οὗτος. [So H.]

Ib. πρωτοφυγὸς κινήσεως δύναμις. Read πρωτοφυγὸς after Plato *Leg.* x. 897. H.

§ 9, p. 833. ἡ πάντων τῶν μερῶν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ μικροτάτου προήκουσα δι' ἀκριβείας ἐξέτασις, πάντων εἰς τὸν πρῶτον διουκτὴν τῶν ὅλων...ἐφορώων. For Sylburg's προήκουσα read with the MS. προσήκουσα 'fitting,' and for ἐφορώων read ἀφορώων. H. I think ἐξέτασις is sufficiently qualified by δι' ἀκριβείας and should keep Sylburg's reading προήκουσα.

Ib. (Of a magnetized chain) συγκινεῖται καὶ μικροτάτῃ σιδήρου μοῖρα τῷ τῆς Ἡρακλείας λίθου πνεύματι διὰ πολλῶν τῶν σιδηρῶν ἐκτεινομένων δακτυλίων. Read ἡ μικροτάτη. The power of the magnet is shown in affecting the remotest, not the smallest ring.

§ 10, p. 834. αἱ ἐντολαὶ...οὐκ ἐνόμοις, δικαίῳ γὰρ νόμος οὐ κεῖται τὸν μὲν ἐλόμενον ζωὴν αἰδίων καὶ μακάριον γέρας λαμβάνειν ἔταξαν, τὸν δ' αὖ κ.τ.λ. Bracket the words δικαίῳ...κεῖται, to show that they are parenthetic, and put a comma after κεῖται. H.

Ib. ἄχρις ἂν καταντήσῃ εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον, τῆς γνώσεως τε ὁμοῦ καὶ κληρονομίας ἐπ' ἐρχομένη. Read perhaps ὑπερχομένη.

Ib. αὐταὶ αἱ σωτήριον περιτροπαὶ κατὰ τὴν μεταβολῆς τάξιν ἀπομερίζονται καὶ χρόνοις καὶ τόποις...καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκαστῆς ἕως τῆς ἐπαναβεβηκυίας...θεωρίας. Read ἐκάστη. [So H.]

§ 11, p. 834. τὰς ἐντολὰς [ἀς] ἔδωκεν. Omit ἀς. [So H.]

§ 11, p. 834. ἄγει γὰρ ἐξ ἐτέρας προκοπῆς. Insert ἐτέρας after ἐτέρας. H.

§ 13, p. 835. ταυτότητι τῆς ὑπεροχῆς ἀπάσης τετιμημένας. Read ἀπάσας. H.

P. 836. ἐάντων κτίζει...ἐξομοιούμενος θεῷ ὁ γνωστικός τῷ φύσει τὸ ἀπαθὲς κεκτημένῳ, τὸ ἐξ ἀσκήσεως εἰς ἀπάθειαν συνεσταλμένον...ἐξομοιῶν. Put a comma after γνωστικός and remove the comma after κεκτημένῳ. [So H.]

§ 14. ταύτας φημι τὰς ἀρετὰς θυσίαν δεκτὴν εἶναι παρὰ θεῷ τὴν ἀνιφον καρδίαν μετ' ἐπιστήμης ὁρθῆς ὀλοκάρπωμα τοῦ θεοῦ λεγούσης τῆς γραφῆς κ.τ.λ. Insert commas after θεῷ and γραφῆς. H.

Ib. τὰ μὲν πάθη ἀποτιθεμένους, ἀναμαρτήτους δὲ γενομένους. Read γινομένους. H.

Ib. τοῦτ' ἦν ἄρα ὁ ἡνίσσεται καὶ ὁ νόμος τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν ἀναρῆσαι κελεύων καὶ μετατίθεσθαι ἐκ θανάτου εἰς ζωὴν τὴν ἐκ πίστεως ἀπάθειαν. ὁ μὴ συνιέντες οἱ νομοδιδάσκαλοι...ἀφορμὰς τοῖς μάτην διαβάλλειν ἐπιχειροῦσι παρεσχέασιν. Put a colon after ἀπάθειαν, and a full stop after παρεσχέασιν instead of Dindorf's comma. H.

§ 15, p. 836. οὐδὲ μὴν ἀναθήμασιν...κηλεῖται τὸ θεῖον...ἀλλὰ μόνοις τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι φαίνεται. Read φαδρύνεται. H.

P. 837. ἴσοι τοῖτοις...οἱ τῇ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀκρασίᾳ...περιπίπτοντες καὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἀπανδόντες οὐ φασιν εἶναι θεοὺς. For οἱ read οἱ, putting a comma before τῇ and after ἀπανδόντες.

Ib. ἄλλοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ πεπεισμένοι παραιτητοὺς εἶναι θυσίας...τοὺς νομιζομένους θεοὺς συναρμολογῶντες ὥς εἰπεῖν αὐτῶν ταῖς ἀκολασίας καὶ οὐδὲ θέλουσι πιστεύειν κ.τ.λ. Put a comma after θεοῖς and a colon after ἀκολασίας, and read αὐτῶν for αὐτῶν ('being partners in their own lusts,' i.e. the lusts of the idolaters).

§ 16, p. 837. ὁ νιός πατρὶ ἀγαθῷ χαρίζεται...ὅτι τὸ πιστεῖν τε καὶ πείθεσθαι ἐφ' ἡμῖν, κακῶν δὲ αἰτίαν καὶ ἔλῃς ἂν τις ἀσθένειαν ὑπολάβοι καὶ τὰς ἀβουλήτους τῆς ἀγνοίας ὁρμὰς τὰς τε ἀλόγους δι' ἀμαθίαν ἀνάγκας ἐπ' ἐράνω καθάπερ θηρίων διὰ μαθήσεως ὁ γνωστικός γενομένος...εὐ ποιεῖ τοὺς θέλοντας...κατὰ δύναμιν, κἂν εἰς ἀρχὴν κατασταίῃ ποτὲ...τῶν ἀρχομένων ἡγήσεται. Put a full stop after ἐφ' ἡμῖν and ἀνάγκας and κατὰ δύναμιν, and read τὴν ἔλῃς for καὶ ἔλῃς (comparing Anton. xii. 6 τὴν ἀσθένειαν πάσης ἔλῃς, and v. 13 ἐξ αἰτιώδους καὶ ἑλικοῦ συνέστηκα) and καταστῇ for κατασταίῃ. [H. queries ἀνάγκας and reads ὑπὲρ ὧν for ὑπεράνω.]

Ib. οἷον ἀπογράφοντες τὸν γνωστικὸν γινόμενον ἡμῖν περὶ τὰ βέβαια καὶ παντελῶς ἀναλλοίωτα ἀναστρεφόμενον. Perhaps we should read ἐγγινόμενον. [H.]

reads ὑπογράφοντες and ἀναστρέφόμενοι, translating 'Faintly depicting Him who is made to us a Gnostic, by ourselves etc.'

§ 17, p. 838. τὸ μὲν περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἔργον ἔχειν σκοπεῖν τί μὲν τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον. Read ἔχει with Sylburg. H.

Ib. τίνα τε αὐτὰ μὲν ὡς διήκοντα, τὰ δὲ ὡς περιέχοντα. Perhaps some such phrase as τὰ συνέχοντα has been lost after αὐτὰ.

Ib. τῇ δὲ ἀνδρεία (κατακέχρηται) οὐκ ἐν τῷ τὰ περιστατικά ὑπομένειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἡδονῇ τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ <κρατεῖν>... καὶ καθόλου πρὸς πᾶν τὸ... ψυχαγωγῶν ἡμᾶς ἀντιτάσσειται. οὐ γὰρ ὑπομένειν δεῖ τὰς κακίας καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀλλὰ πείθεσθαι καὶ τὰ φοβερὰ ὑπομένειν. For ἀλλὰ πείθεσθαι read ἀλλ' ἀποθέσθαι followed by a comma. [For καὶ read κἂν, for ἀντιτάσσεται read ἀντιτάσσεσθαι, for ἀλλὰ πείθεσθαι read ἀλλ' ἐπίθεσθαι. H.]

§ 18, p. 835. καὶ δὲ ἦν αἰτίαν οὐτε μέμψως οὐτε κακοδοξίας... ἀντιλαμβάνεται. Read δὲ ἦν καὶ αἰτίαν, or omit καὶ. H.

P. 839. γινόμενος κόσμος.. ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ τάξει πράσων. Insert πάντα before πράσων. H.

§ 19, p. 839. μεταδοτικός... φιλόανθρωπός τε ὢν μισοπονηρότατος... κακουργίας πάσης. μαθεῖν ἄρα δεῖ πιστὸν εἶναι. Put a comma after ὢν and after πάσης and read μαθὼν ὡς for μαθεῖν. H.

Ib. οὐδὲ μὴν ἐκ τῆς τῶν συμβάντων καὶ ἐπιγινόμενης συνηθείας, ὃν τρόπον ἡ διάλεκτος τελειοῦται ἡ ἀρετὴ· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἡ κακία τοῦτον ἐγγίνεται τὸν τρόπον. Put a colon before οὐδὲ and after τὸν τρόπον, and a comma before τελειοῦται. [So H.] For συμβάντων read συμβιούντων.

§ 20, p. 839. οὐδὲ οἱ λόγοι οἱ πειστικοὶ ἐπιπόλοιοι ὄντες ἐπιστημονικὴν τῆς ἀληθείας διαμονὴν παράσχοιεν ἂν. H. proposes to read διανομὴν, comparing διανενομένης in vi. p. 800, and Plato *Leg.* iv. 714 A. τὴν τοῦ νοῦ διανομὴν ἐπιοιμάζοντας νόμον. I think however that there is no reason to alter the text: ἐπιστήμη (which is defined as κατάληψις ἀμετάπτωτος λόγῳ) implies a permanent possession of the truth.

Ib. τούτων περιγινόμενος τῶν μεγάλων ἀνταγωνισμάτων καὶ... καταγωνισάμενος ἐκράτησε. Read περιγεγόμενος and perhaps insert τις after it. H.

P. 840. καὶ δὲ καὶ τούτων. The MS. ἐκ 'out of these' is to be preferred to Sylburg's καὶ. H.

Ib. ἐλείπεται δὲ ὁ δυνάμενος. Read ἐλείπεται with Bywater in *J. of Phil.* H.

Ib. ταύτῃ καὶ τὸν νοῦν εἰλήφαμεν ἵνα εἰδῶμεν ὃ ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τὸ γνῶθι σαυτὸν ἐνταῦθα εἰδέναι ἐφ' ὃ γεγόναμεν. γεγόναμεν δὲ εἶναι πειθήνιοι ταῖς ἐντολαῖς, εἰ τὸ βούλεσθαι σώζεσθαι ἐλοί-

μεθα. Put a full stop after ποιοῦμεν, a comma after ἐνταῦθα, and a colon after the first γεγόναμεν: 'self-knowledge here on earth consists in knowing for what we are made; and we are made to be obedient.'

§ 21, p. 840. διόπερ ὅλως τοσοῦδε οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἀμοιβή κατ' ἀξίαν σωτηρίας ἀποδιδόναι. Restore ἀμοιβήν as in the older editions, for which Dindorf, following Klotz, has written ἀμοιβή without a note.

§ 22, p. 841. τὰς ψυχὰς ὁμοιοῦσιν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀναπλάττονσιν. Read ὁμοίας ἕκαστοι ἑαυτοῖς. H.

Ib. αὐτίκα βάρβαροι οἱ μὲν θηριωδεῖς καὶ ἀγρίους τὰ ἦθη (τοὺς θεοὺς ὑποτίθενται), ἡμερωτέρους δὲ Ἕλληνες. Omit οἱ before μὲν. H.

Ib. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ τῷ ὄντι βασιλικὸς τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ γνωστικὸς, οὗτος... καὶ ἀδιδουδαίμων ὢν τίμιον... εἶναι τὸν μόνον θεὸν πεπεισμένος. Omit ὢν and put a comma after ἀδιδουδαίμων. H.

§ 23, p. 841. πῶς... ἐπιπικραίνονται, ἧ φασι τὴν Ἀρτεμιν ὀργισθῆναι. Put a question after ὀργισθῆναι. H.

§ 25, p. 843. Διογένης πρὸς τὸν θαυμάζοντα ὅτι ἦν ἐν τὸν ὄφιν ἐν τῷ ὑπέρῳ περιειλημένον, 'μὴ θαύμαζε' ἔφη· 'ἦν γὰρ παραδοξότερον ἐκεῖνο, εἰ τὸ ὑπερον περὶ ὀρθῶ τῷ ὄφει κατεειλημένον ἐθεάσω.' The text can hardly be correct. It makes no sense to speak of 'the serpent coiled round in the pestle' or 'the pestle coiled up about the serpent.' H. would omit ἐν after ὄφιν, though allowing that it was read by Theodoret, p. 88, who gives as a paraphrase ὄφρως ὑπέρῳ ἑαυτὸν ἐνειλήσαντος.

Ib. δεῖ γὰρ τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζῴων τρέχεν καὶ θεῖν καὶ μάχεσθαι καὶ τίκτεν κ.τ.λ. Perhaps θεῖν is a corruption of ἐσθίειν, as we do not want a second word for running, and the omens cited are mostly concerned with eating.

§ 27, p. 844. εἰ μὲν τι κακὸν ἀληθὲς εἶχες, Φειδία, ζητεῖν ἀληθὲς φάρμακον, τοῦτον σ' εἶδε. Omit the comma after φάρμακον.

Ib. περιμαζάτωσάν σ' αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ περιθεωσάτωσαν, ἀπὸ κρουνῶν τριῶν ὕδατι περιέρραν' ἐμβαλὼν ἄλας. H. reads περιέρρηναι βαλὼν with Lob. *Ag.* p. 632. Put a colon after περιθεωσάτωσαν.

§ 28, p. 845. ἡ γὰρ οὐ καλῶς... περιγράφωμεν; Here, as in ii. p. 474 and elsewhere, I should be inclined to write ἡ γάρ;

Ib. γελῶιον μέντ' ἀνθρώπων ὄντα παῖγνιον θεοῦ θεὸν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ γίνεσθαι παῖδι ἂν τέχνης τὸν θεόν, ἐπεὶ τὸ γινόμενον ταυτὸν... τῷ ἐξ οὗ γίνεται, ὡς... τὸ ἐκ χρυσοῦ χρυσοῦν, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων βαναύσων κατασκευαζόμενα... κἂν τὴν τέχνην ἐκτελέσῃς, τῆς βαναυσίας μετελήφεν. H. reads παιδιαῖς

for Sylburg's παιδιὰν (which is itself an emendation of the MS. παιδιὰς), comparing Plato *Leg.* vii. 803 C. He also suggests ἐξετάσῃς for ἐκτελέσῃς, but I think the text may be retained if we take it to mean that, however fine the art, there must still be something mechanical about the work of men's hands. Put a colon for comma after τὸν θεόν.

§ 28, p. 845. τί δ' ἂν καὶ ἰδρύναιτο μηδενὸς ἀνιδρύτου τυγχάνοντος; ἐπεὶ πάντα ἐν τόπῳ; Put a comma after τυγχάνοντος.

Ib. εἴπερ οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἰδρύεται πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἀνιδρύτος ποτε ἦν καὶ οὐδ' ὅλως ἦν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν ἦν ἀνιδρύτου, τὸ οὐκ ὄν, ἐπειδήπερ πᾶν τὸ μὴ ὄν οὐχ ἰδρύεται, τὸ δὲ ὄν ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος οὐκ ἂν ἰδρυνθείη, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ὄντος. ὄν γάρ ἐστι καὶ αὐτό. (§ 29) λείπεται δὴ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ πῶς αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ τι γενήσεται; ἢ πῶς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν ἑαυτὸ εἶναι ἐνιδρύσει; H. omits οὐχ, which Dindorf inserts after Hervetus. The argument is very obscure but it seems to go upon the opponent's assumption that all existence is localized. This is implied by the ἂν ἦν, 'according to your view the non-existent would have been the non-local.' The argument (borrowed perhaps from the Academics) then proceeds 'the existent cannot be localized either by that which is non-existent, or by another existence or by itself.' Put a colon after ἰδρύεται (for which I should prefer to read ἰδρύται) and after ἰδρυνθείη. For εἶναι H. suggests ἐν νεφί, comparing p. 275, l. 2 D. I am rather inclined to regard it as a dittography of the following ἐνι. For ἐνιδρύσει read ἐνιδρυνσεν to correspond with ἰδρυνσεν in the next clause.

§ 29. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν οὐδ' ἦν, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν ἀνιδρύτου, καὶ τὸ ἰδρύνσθαι νομισθὲν πῶς, ὃ φθάσαν εἶχεν ὄν, τοῦθ' ἑαυτὸ ἴσπερον ποιήσει; Put a colon after ἀνιδρύτου, and insert ἂν after πῶς.

Ib. If the Deity is ἀνθρωποειδὲς, τῶν ἴσων δεῖσεται τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τροφῇ τε καὶ σκέπῃς, οἰκίᾳ τε καὶ τῶν ἀκολούθων παθῶν. For παθῶν read πάντων.

Ib. p. 846. πῶς οὐ κυρίως τὴν...ἐκκλησίαν ἱερὸν ἂν εἴποιμεν θεοῦ τὸ πολλοῦ ἄξιον καὶ οὐ βαναύσῳ κατασκευασμένον τέχνῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀγύρτου χερὶ δεδαυμένον, βουλήσει δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς νεῶν πεποιημένην. Put a question after πεποιημένην, for which we must read πεποιημένον, or else change the other neuters to feminine. H. suggests ἀγροίκῳ for ἀγύρτου. I should prefer ἀγγέλου.

Ib. εἰς παραδοχὴν μεγέθους ἀξίας τοῦ θεοῦ. So D. after Sylburg for MS. ἀξίας. Perhaps we may keep to the MS., regarding it as a reminiscence of 1 Chron. xxix. 11,

and translating 'the greatness of the dignity.'

§ 29, p. 846. τὸ ἀνιδρύτου καὶ τὸ ἐνιδρυνόμενον. Read ἐνιδρύτου with Lowth and ἐνιδρυνόμενον. H.

§ 30, p. 846. ὡς θυσίαν, δίκην τροφῆς, διὰ λιμὸν ἐπιθυμείν. Read θυσίῳν. [So H.]

Ib. τῷ μὴ τρεφομένῳ προσάγειν βορὰν μάταιον, καὶ ὃ γε κωμικὸς...αὐτοὺς πεποιήκεν τοὺς θεοὺς καταμεμφομένους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Put a colon after μάταιον.

§ 31, p. 847. οὐχ ἡ τῶν ὀλοκαυμάτων κνῖσα καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις ἀφεκτεία; Read ἀφεκτεία. H.

Ib. οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιεν καὶ τοὺς μαγείρους θεοποιούντες...καὶ τὴν ἐσχάραν αὐτὴν προσκυνούντες, προσεχεστέραν γινομένην τῇ κνίσῃ. Dindorf writes τὴν ἐσχάραν αὐτὴν for the MS. τὸν ἱμῶν αὐτόν. H. proposes τὴν κάπνην (or ὀπήν) αὐτὴν. I prefer Sylburg's τὸν ἱμῶν αὐτόν. The following feminines would be explained if we suppose ἐσχάραν to have been lost after προσεχεστέραν.

P. 848. ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν...ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ δικαιολόγῳ λόγῳ γεραίροντες, δὲ οὐ παραλαμβάνομεν τὴν γνώσιν διὰ τούτου δοξάζοντες ἃ μεμαθήκαμεν. H. puts the comma before, instead of after, γεραίροντες, inserts a comma after γνώσιν, and δὲ after τούτου, and changes ἃ to ὄν.

§ 32, p. 848. ἡ περιπνεῖται καθάπερ τὰ ἔντομα κατὰ τὴν διὰ τῶν πτερυγίων ἐπιθλίψιν τῆς ἔντομης; Perhaps we should read παραπνεῖται with Gataker, *ap.* Stephanum.

Ib. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν τι τοῦτον ἀπεικάσαιεν, εἴ γε εὐφρονοῖεν, τὸν θεόν, ὅσα δὲ ἀναπνέει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς τὴν θώρακα ἀντιδιαστολὴν ῥυμουλκεῖ τὸν ἀέρα. Put a full stop after θεόν [so H.], and a comma after ἀναπνέει.

Ib. ἐκκαλυπτομένης ἅμα τῆς θυσίας καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἀπάσης τῷ θεῷ. Read τῇ θυσίᾳ. H.

§ 33, p. 849. πλὴν ὑστρίχις καὶ πηλὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βοή. H. restores the MS. ὑστρίχες, maintaining against Dindorf that both forms are equally attested in the sense of 'a scourge of hog's bristles.'

P. 850. For ἀποδιοπομπήσει read by D. after Hemsterhuis, H. would keep the διοπομπήσει of the MS.

Ib. Αἰγύπτιοι...οὐκ ἐπιτρέπουσι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν σιτέσθαι σάρκας, ὀρνιθεῖσι τε...χρῶνται. Read δέ.

§ 34, p. 850. συγγενεῖ τῷ ἀέρι τὴν ψυχὴν κεκτημένα. Dindorf has copied Klotz's misprint for συγγενή.

Ib. (Air is mingled with the other elements) ὃ καὶ δεῖγμα τῆς ὑλικῆς διαμονῆς. Comparing Greg. Nyss. (*Dial. de Anima*, p. 187) τίς γὰρ βλέπων τὴν τοῦ παντός ἀρ-

μονίαν...ὡς τὰ στοιχεῖα...συνπλέκεται, τὴν παρ' ἐαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἑκαστον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ παντός διὰ μὲν ἡν συνεισφέροντα, Philo (*De Mundo*, p. 606 M.) λίθων μὲν οὖν καὶ ξύλων δεσμὸν κραταιότατον ἔξιν εἰργάσατο· ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα ἀναστρέφον ἐφ' ἐαυτό, Cic. *Nat. D.* ii. 115 maxime autem corpora inter se iuncta permanent, cum quasi quodam vinculo colligantur, and § 83 foll., also Sen. *N.Q.* ii. 4 aer est qui caelum terramque connectit, *ib.* 6 esse autem unitatem in aere vel ex hoc intellegi potest, quod corpora nostra inter se cohaerent, I think that for δέγμα we should read δεσμός.

§ 35, p. 851. σέβειν δὲ δεῖν ἐγκελευόμεθα... τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ λόγον σωτήρ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα εἶναι πεισθέντες καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα. Put commas after λόγον, πεισθέντες, and πατέρα. Either something has been lost before καὶ λόγον, or the first αὐτόν must be corrupt. H. Perhaps νῖόν should be read for αὐτόν.

§ 35, p. 851. ὅθεν οὔτε ὠρισμένον τόπον οὔτε ἐξαιρέτον ἱερὸν οὐδὲ μὴν ἑορτάς τινας... ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντα βίον ὁ γνωστικός ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ...τιμᾷ τὸν θεόν. I think a government is wanted for τόπον: perhaps we should insert καθ' before ὠρισμένον.

Ib. p. 852. γεωργοῦμεν αἰνοῦντες, πλέομεν ἡμνοῦντες, κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν ἐντέχνως ἀναστρέφόμεθα. For ἐντέχνως read ἐνθέως, comparing § 45 μετὰ διάρματος ἐνθέου τῆς εὐχῆς. H.

§ 36. οὐτ' οὖν ταύτας τὰς ἡδονὰς τῆς θέας οὔτε τὰς διὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολαυσμάτων ποικιλίας (as those of smell and taste), οὐδὲ τὰς πολυανθείς...πλοκάς. Read οὔτε for οὐδέ.

Ib. Just below in χάριν ὁμολογῶν καὶ διὰ τῆς δωρεάς καὶ τῆς χρήσεως διὰ λόγου, omit the first διά. [So H.]

§ 37. οὐκ οὐν ἀνθρωποειδὴς ὁ θεὸς τοῦδ' ἕνεκα καὶ ἵνα ἀκούσῃ. Omit καὶ which is merely due to dittography.

Ib. C. continues οὐδὲ αἰσθήσεων αὐτῷ δεῖ, καθάπερ ἤρρεσεν τοῖς Στωικοῖς, μάλιστα ἀκοῆς καὶ ὀσφews, μὴ γὰρ δύνασθαι ἐτέρως ἀντιλαβεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εὐπαθὲς τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ ἡ ὀξυτάτη συναίσθησις τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἡ τε τοῦ συνειδότος ἐπαφωμένη τῆς ψυχῆς δύναμις, δύναμις τῇ ἀρρήτῳ...πάντα γινώσκει. Put a colon after ἀντιλαβεσθαι and γινώσκει, and read τινὲς for τῇ. H. It is impossible that C. should have charged the Stoics with anthropomorphism. Perhaps ἀεροειδὼν has been lost after δεῖ, in which case we might read ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ for ἀλλὰ καὶ, putting a colon and a second ἀλλά after ἀέρος, cf. Cic. *N.D.* ii. 73.

Ib. ἡ οὐχὶ πάντῃ εἰς τὸ βάθος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπάσης τὸ φῶς τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκλάμπει τὰ

ταμεῖα ἐρευνῶντος...τοῦ λύχνου τῆς δυνάμεως, ὅλος ἀκοῇ...ὁ θεός. Put a comma after ἐκλάμπει and a question before ὅλος. H.

§ 38, p. 853. τοῦτων αἱ αἰτήσεις ὦν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι, τὸ δὲ εὐχέσθαι...καταλλήλως γίνεται εἰς τὸ ἔχειν τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα ὠφελήματα. τῇ κτήσει τοῦτων ὁ γνωστικός τὴν εὐχὴν...ποιεῖται. Put a colon after ἐπιθυμίαι, and remove the full stop from after ὠφελήματα to after κτήσει, beginning the next sentence ὁ τοῦτων γνωστικός. H.

Ib. ὡς μηκέτι ἔχειν τὰ ἀγαθὰ καθάπερ μαθήματα ἀναθήματα, εἶναι δὲ ἀγαθόν. For μαθήματα read ἀναθήματα. H.

P. 854. ἔστιν οὖν...ὁμιλία πρὸς τὸν θεόν ἡ εὐχή, κἂν ψιθυρίζοντες...προσλαλῶμεν, ἔνδοθεν κεκράγαμεν. Put a colon after εὐχή.

§ 40, p. 854. καταλείπειν δὲ...πάντα ὅσα μὴ χρησιμεύει γενόμενος ἐκεῖ. Read γενομένης. H.

§ 41, p. 855. καθόλου γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν τοὺς τε ἀξίους τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ μὴ. ὅθεν τὰ προσήκοντα ἐκάστοις δίδωσιν, διὸ πολλάκις μὲν αἰτήσασιν ἀναξίοις οὐκ ἂν δοίη, δοίη δὲ ἀξίοις δηλονότι ὑπάρχουσιν. Put a colon before ὅθεν and a full stop before διὸ.

Ib. ἡν' ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις...ὁ θεός [δοξάζεται καὶ] ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ ὁ μόνος σωτήρ δι' υἱοῦ ἐξ αἰῶνος εἰς αἰῶνα ἐπιγινώσκηται. Transfer the words in brackets to after υἱοῦ, and put a full stop [so H.], instead of a comma, after ἐπιγινώσκηται.

§ 42. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἄκων ἀγαθὸς...ἐκούσιος δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μεταδόσις αὐτῷ, κἂν προλαμβάνῃ τὴν αἴτησιν, οὔτε μὴν ἄκων σωθήσεται ὁ σωζόμενος. Put brackets, to mark a parenthesis, before ἐκούσιος and after αἴτησιν.

Ib. ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁ ὁρμητικός πρὸς ὁπότερον ἂν καὶ βούλοιο τῶν τε αἰρετῶν καὶ τῶν φευκτῶν. Read αὐτοῦ. H. Read οὖν for ἂν.

§ 43, p. 856. πάντα τῇ συλλήψει αὐτῇ εἴπεται τὰ ἀγαθὰ. Read αὐτῇ 'the mere conception,' i.e. the unspoken prayer.

P. 857. οἱ ἀντιπρόσωποι τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἰστάμενοι. The MS. has ἅπαν τι πρόσωπον, for which Sylburg conjectured ἀπαντιπρόσωπον. H. proposes to read ἀπαντιπρόσωποι, and illustrates the compound by ἀπαντίον, ἀπαντικρῆ.

§ 44, p. 857. ὁ γνωστικός δὲ ὦν μὲν κέκτηται παραμονήν, ἐπιτηδεύοντα δὲ εἰς ἃ μέλλει ἀποβαίνειν καὶ αἰδιότῳ ὦν λήψεται αἰτήσεται. H. would keep to the MS. ὑπερβαίνειν and ὦν οὐ λήψεται, explaining the former by the words in § 40 ἴσμεν τὸν γνωστικὸν τὴν ὑπερβάσιν παντός τοῦ κόσμου ποιούμενον. It seems to me that the general meaning of the sentence is that 'the gnostic will ask for the continuance of what he has got, for readiness to meet what

may be allotted to him in the future, and for a contented spirit as regards what may be denied.' I should therefore keep the MS. οὐ λήφεται and adopt Heinsius' ἀποβαίνειν. Perhaps ἀδιαφορότητα may be concealed under αἰδιότητα, which H. also queries. Though the word is not found elsewhere, yet διαφορότης is not uncommon.

§ 44, p. 857. ἀλλὰ αὐτάρκης μὲν γενόμενος, ἀνευδής δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, τὸ πατοκρατικὸν δὲ βούλημα ἐγνωκῶς καὶ ἔχων ἅμα καὶ εὐχόμενος προσεχὴς τῇ πανσθενεὶ δυνάμει γενόμενος... ἦνται τῷ πνεύματι. Put a colon before ἀλλά, omit the comma after the first γενόμενος and change δέ into τε, insert commas after ἐγνωκῶς, εὐχόμενος, γενόμενος. H.

P. 858. Put a full stop, instead of comma, after ἀσκήσει.

Ib. Put a comma after χρωμένην and read ἀξιολόγων for ἀξιολόγως. H.

§ 45. ὁ γοῦν τὰ περὶ θεοῦ διελθὼς πρὸς

αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας χοροῦ μυστικοῦ λόγῳ τῷ προτρέποντι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρετῆς, αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ἐνδεικνύμενος χρήται. The MS. has ἐνδεικνυμένων, for which read ἐνδεικνυμένῳ. [So H.] Put a comma after μυστικοῦ and remove the comma from after the second αὐτῆς to after ἐνδεικνυμένῳ, translating 'He who has received the things concerning God from the mystical chorus of the truth itself makes use of the word of exhortation setting forth the greatness of virtue both in itself and its effects.' [H. governs χοροῦ μυστικοῦ by λόγῳ and suggests προφέροντι for προτρέποντι. προτυποῦντι has occurred to me.]

§ 45, p. 858. πρῶτος ἀεὶ...εὐγνώμων, εὐσυνειδητος, αὐστηρὸς οὗτος ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ. Put a colon before αὐστηρὸς.

J. B. MAYOR.

(To be continued.)

THE HESIODIC HECATE.

The genealogy of the Titans in the *Theogony* is interrupted by a long eulogy (ll. 411-52) of Hecate, the 'only-begotten' child of Perses and Asterie. The whole exhibits unmistakable signs of something more than ordinary interpolation or recasting. It has too little consistency to merit the title of a 'hymn,' which is sometimes bestowed on it. Indeed, it can only be described as an incoherent medley—'ein Jargon,' as Lehrs calls it (*Aristarchos*, p. 441). E. Gerhard (*Zeitschr. f. d. Alterthumswiss.*, 1852) is led by a minute investigation to the conclusion that two distinct versions of a single hymn have been crudely compressed together. The two pieces, as he restores them, are certainly intelligible and consistent enough. But it is difficult to see the purpose of this strange kind of 'contaminatio,' since the portion peculiar to either of the supposed originals is very small.

The sutures, which Gerhard's theory is designed to account for, are fully manifest. But they admit of a less difficult explanation in every instance. Taking them in order, we have first (413-5) a passage where the 'splendid gifts' of Zeus to Hecate are set forth in somewhat clumsy sentences, which appear to be a mere amplification of the line (427)

καὶ γέρας ἐν γαίῃ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἥδ' ἐν θαλάσσῃ.

This line is quite impossible where it stands. But if, instead of rejecting it, we put it here in place of the amplification, it follows easily and serves as a simple definition of the ἀγλαὰ δῶρα in keeping with the subsequent passage. The next trace of the second hand is l. 419, where πολλή τέ οἱ ἔσπετο τιμή is followed by

ῥεῖα μάλ', ᾧ πρόφρων γε θεὰ ὑποδέξεται εὐχάς.

This has the look of an enlargement with an alteration in the reference of the pronoun. Further evidence of botching is καὶ γάρ (416), which must have changed its place, and still more conclusively ll. 421 f.:

ὅσσοι γὰρ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἐξεγένοντο
καὶ τιμὴν ἔλαχον, τούτων ἔχει αἶσαν ἀπάντων.

This must be supposed to mean, 'she (Hecate) has a share *with* all who inherited from Gaea and Uranus'; but the sense, such as it is, is only derived from the juxtaposition. It is clear that the latter clause was transposed from another context. If we remove the intervening patch for the reasons just assigned, we have the words τούτων ἔχει αἶσαν ἀπάντων following πολλή τέ οἱ ἔσπετο τιμή with a lacuna, which may be filled by supplying ὅσα τ' ἀπάρχονται or something equivalent, defining the τιμή as the goddess' share (αἶσα) of all the ἱερά

καλά. One more passage appears to have undergone a similar process, viz. ll. 450 f. :

θῆκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης κουροτρόφον, οἱ μετ' ἐκείνην
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοντο φάος πολυδερκέος Ἡοῦς.

The forced construction of the relative clause and still more the makeshift μετ' ἐκείνην (where, if the sentence had been framed as a whole, we should surely have found μετόπισθε or μετέπειτα) indicate that the first part of the sentence was originally separate, being a simple reference to the function of the goddess as κουροτρόφος. This suspicion is confirmed by the lame addition :

οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς κουροτρόφος· αἶδε τε τιμαί.

The various accretions which have been noticed plainly had for their object to insist on Hecate's title as a primeval or 'Titanic' one. As the passage first stood, her γέρας was the free gift of Zeus, whereas in the inserted lines 421-5 stress is laid on the previous allotment, which Zeus respected. As the latter is the standpoint of the *Theogony*, it may fairly be inferred that the nucleus consists of older material, which was borrowed and adapted by the compiler of the poem. It was perhaps a fragment of a genuine hymn, which may have commenced, as Gerhard suggests, αἰδῶ Ἑκάτην Περσηίδα. The alternative supposition, that the whole of this section as well as what follows is a later excrescence—in other words, that Hecate was nowhere in the original compilation—is unlikely, considering that Coeus, though mentioned first after Oceanus (l. 134), is postponed as though to bring him into this particular connection.

The second portion (429-49), on the other hand, has every appearance of being a later and wholly independent addition. The composition, except on Gerhard's supposition, must be regarded as perfunctory and mechanical to the last degree. Witness the stock phrases twice or thrice repeated : παραγίνεται ('assists,' cf. *Od.* xvii. 173) varied only by a cumbrous μεγάλως (429); ἐσθλή with infinitive of purpose (439, 444, cf. 435), ὃν κ' ἐθέλησι (430, 432), ἐθέλουσα θυμῷ (443, 446). The adjective γλαυκή by itself for 'the sea' (440) is a bad imitation of the Homeric ὕγρη; it is altogether distinct from the picturesque Hesiodic conceits, such as φερέοικος for the snail, and ἰδρις for the ant. The digamma is neglected in the name Ἑκάτη (l. 441), whereas it is retained in the former portion (411, 418).

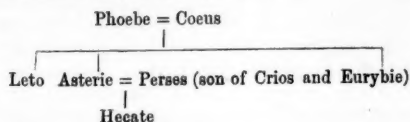
If we detach the compiler's setting as well as the appended piece, the original fragment reads as follows :—

αἰδῶ Ἑκάτην Περσηίδα, τὴν περὶ πάντων
[ἢ δ' ὑποκυσσάμενη Ἑκάτην τέκε]
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης τίμησε· πόρεν δέ οἱ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,
καὶ γέρας ἐν γαίῃ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἥδε θαλάσῃ.
καὶ γὰρ νῦν ὅτε πού τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
έρδων ἱερὰ καλὰ κατὰ νόμον ἱλάσκηται,
κυκλῆσκει Ἑκάτην· πολλή τέ οἱ ἔσπετο τιμή,
† ὅσα τ' ἀπάρχονται † τούτων ἔχει αἶσαν ἀπάντων.

θῆκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης κουροτρόφον.—

The main features in this description are the affiliation of Hecate to Perses, her potency in three elements (the compiler amplifying the second with ἀστερόεντος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, in allusion, perhaps, to Asterie), the statement that she is invoked on the occasion of propitiatory offerings as an assessor and partaker with the gods, and her office of nurturing the young.

In respect to the parentage of Hecate, the procedure in this poem throws some light incidentally on the myths which collected round the name of Perses or Perseus. The compiler himself presents to us in another connection (956 ff.) a Perseis, wife of Helios: their children are Circe and Aeetes, the latter being father of Medea by Eidiua. According to a tradition, which is traceable as far back as the early historian Dionysius of Miletus (*Diod.* iv. 45, schol. *Apoll. Rhod.* iii. 200), a corresponding Perseis, that is, one belonging to the family of the sun-god, bore the name of Hecate; she differs from the second Hesiodic Perseis only in being the daughter-in-law of Helios, the same names, together with Circe and Medea, reappearing in a somewhat different relationship. Another tradition, which Pausanias (i. 43, 1) mentions as Arcadian, that Iphigeneia was changed into Hecate by the will of Artemis, shows in like manner that the name found its way into the legend in question when the ancient moon-goddess, Iphigeneia, had relinquished her divinity in favour of Artemis. And this, according to Pausanias (*l.c.*), was the application of the name Hecate in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women. But the compiler separates his Hecate from this family in making out a Titanic parentage for her :—



From a collation of these versions it results that there was (1) a Perseis, related directly with the sun in the Corinthian and Arcadian mythology, (2) a Hecate Perseis, who is detached in this poem but not so in the older tradition. The explanation of this curious bifurcation in the myth seems to be as follows: Perseus or Perseus was the name of a sun-god, who was transformed into a hero when supplanted by the new cult of Helios. Perseis was the corresponding name of the moon regarded as the sun's daughter: Hecate was an epithet of the latter. When the moon was personified, like the sun, by name (Selene), 'Hecate' became the personal designation of a separate deity, who begins to emerge in literature here and in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*. The name, interpreted popularly (whether rightly or not) as 'far-darting' (*ἐκατηβόλος*), helped to perpetuate something of her old lunar associations. The Hesiodic appellation of her mother, Asterie, was manifestly invented with a similar idea. It is quite as transparent as that of the other Titan Astraios, the father of the stars (*Theog.* 382).

It is amply established by literary and archaeological evidence that this lunar goddess owed her real dignity to chthonic attributes. This is clearly perceptible in the Homeric hymn, where she is the attendant of Persephone and has her dwelling in a cave. It is surprising, therefore, that here her γέρας is vaguely apportioned between earth, sky and sea, without any hint of the underworld. Nor is there any trace of her in the primitive superstitions concerning the tomb in the *Works and Days*, 750 ff. Yet her special participation in sacrificial offerings to 'the gods' must, surely, be explained in the sense that offerings were made through her to greater deities, whose servant she was. Are not these the infernal deities to whom she is attached in the Hymn? The *ἰλασμοί*, to which our poet alludes, may well have been rites such as the *περισκυλακισμός*, familiar from notices of her Athenian cult. This was a propitiation of the chthonic moon-goddess consisting in the sacrifice of young dogs. It had its rise, no doubt, in primitive notions: the dog baying the moon may have given the first suggestion. But if we look to the motive of the sacrifice, it was associated with an office of the goddess which is here significantly mentioned, viz. that of *κουροτρόφος*. The dog seems to have represented the children of the house and served, as a victim,

to avert the malign influences in the keeping of the goddess of the cross-ways.

The threefold sphere in itself, as the poet understands it, is perhaps no more than a far-fetched literary interpretation of the triple form, the persistence of which in art is best explained by the position of the goddess at the crossing of the roads and the opportunity which her attitude thus gave for artistic design. That this conception is as old as the Hesiodic poetry may be safely assumed from the archaeological data, which are registered most completely by E. Petersen ('Die dreigestaltige Hekate,' *Archaeol.-Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, iv. pp. 141-74). It is conclusively proved that a three-headed pillar or herm was the primitive model from which Alcamenes produced his group of three separate figures disposed around a column (Pausan. ii. 30, 2), and that the latter motive was first exchanged for a triple herm with dancing figures (Charites) and finally for a three-bodied Hecate, a partial reversion to the old type. The torch, her constant symbol, which distinguished her from Artemis, is conspicuous in the Homeric hymn; she carries it in the quest of Persephone. In the drinking-vessel, another common symbol, we have a point of connection with the Hesiodic description. For her participation in the sacrifices must include the drink-offering as given through her to the greater deities invoked simultaneously with her. The dog, as Petersen notices, is usually placed beneath the vessel, as though to lap what overflows. His presence as Hecate's companion in the lower world represents the offering as accepted and efficacious. The *ἀρχαί*, if we may restore them to the goddess in this passage, will similarly correspond with the fruit which frequently appears in the hand of one or more of the figures.

As for the later portion (429-49), its extraneous origin is evident from its contents as well as on linguistic grounds. According to this poet Hecate gives prosperity (*εὐλος*), she assists the orator in the agora, the warrior in battle, kings in the judgment-seat, athletes in the lists, horsemen (riders), and fishermen on the sea, who pray to her as well as to Poseidon; she gives and takes away spoil, and with Hermes she blesses or blights the cattle. In default of any other explanation, this curiously inflated panegyric has been called 'Orphic.' But this conjecture has not much to stand upon. All we know is that the Orphic poets transferred the name of Hecate to Persephone

and called the latter *Μουνογένεια*. They used 'Hecate' also as a designation of Artemis, but this proves little or nothing, as it was commonly applied to her (e.g. by Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 676) as an epithet. The poet may have picked up the word *μουνογενής* from an Orphic source, but he does not use it in a laudatory sense. His meaning is merely that Hecate got her rights notwithstanding that she was an only child and had no brother to protect her inheritance with his own. Possibly he perverted some mystic hymn in which the underworld, not the sea, was the third sphere of the triune goddess. He seems to have mistaken the participation of Hecate in offerings to other gods for a participation in their functions and to have amplified the triple *γέρας* from that pre-posterous point of view. The attributes are too miscellaneous to be explained as an approach to Orphic pantheism. In some instances, especially where the associated

deity is named, we may discern a more or less fanciful motive. It is the moon itself which is described as guiding sailors on the sea, helping fishermen, and assisting riders on the road (at night). The title *ἐνοδία*, which was given to Hecate in Aegina, may have arisen from a similar idea, and she may have been concerned with Poseidon in the Aeginetan sea-fishery. The combination of certain gifts, viz. eloquence, success in the games and agricultural prosperity, has a parallel in the case of Hermes. It is known that she received offerings along with that god (as *ἐναγώνιος*) at Methydrion in Arcadia. But such correspondences do not avail to make sense of this part of the eulogy or to lessen the difference in conception between it and the preceding piece. The Hecate of the compiler has much, the Hecate of the interpolator has nothing, in common with her traditional character.

GEORGE C. W. WARR.

Βούλομαι IN HOMER.

IN Buttman's *Lexilogus* an attempt is made to distinguish between the meanings of *βούλομαι* and *θέλω*. We give an abstract of the views there expressed:

1. *θέλω* is of far more frequent occurrence and the most general expression for wishing. It expresses in particular that kind of wish in which there lies a *purpose* or *design*. *βούλομαι* is confined to that kind of willingness or wishing in which the *wish* and the *inclination* towards a thing are either the only thing contained in the expression, or are at least intended to be marked particularly.

2. The active wish, which looks forward to its accomplishment, is in all other cases expressed by *θέλω*, while *βούλομαι* is used in this sense of the *gods* only, for in the case of the gods we particularly observe and mention the inclination which in them connects the wish almost immediately with its accomplishment.

3. From this meaning of inclination, apparent in *βούλομαι*, it is used to indicate that besides the wish there is a preference of one thing to another. *βούλομαι*, but never *θέλω*, stands singly in Homer for 'to prefer.'

4. *θέλω* is sometimes used for *δύναμαι* as at Φ 366, οἷδ' ἔθελε προρίειν, ἀλλ' ἴσχετο.

5. *θέλω* occurs also where *βούλομαι* might have been used; for instance of the

gods, or to express a mere wish, as at H 182, ἐκ δ' ἔθορε κληῖρος κυνέης, ὃν ἄρ' ἤθελον αὐτοί. The examples cited by Buttman are all taken from Homer, with the exception of two in a foot-note. These views are followed in the last edition of Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*.

We shall endeavour to show that the use of *βούλομαι* in Homer, including the forms *βόλομαι* and *προβέβουλα*, is somewhat different from that indicated by Buttman. In the *Iliad* *βούλομαι* is used 19 times. It is used with ἤ 5 times, A 117, Γ 41, Δ 319, Π 331, Ψ 594. In these cases there is plainly a comparison and choice between two things. In one of these passages, Δ 319, the subject of *βόλεται* is Ζεύς, and the object is δοῖναι κράτος. In another, Π 331, the subject of *βούλεται* is Ζεύς, and the object is νίκη. Now the same or similar objects occur with *βούλομαι* in 8 other lines, H 21, Θ 204, Λ 79, Μ 174, Ν 347, Ο 596, Π 121, Ψ 682. In 6 of the above 13 passages the object of *βούλομαι* is νίκη. Hence it is fair to assume that in these places also *βούλομαι* expresses preference. The context shows that in every instance a comparison is implied between two things or parties. It is unnecessary to use ἤ in every instance to contrast the two things. In other words, it is unnecessary formally to state the comparison, for it is in the

mind already. A type of this use is found in N 347, where ἐθέλω is also used :

Ζεὺς μὲν ἄρα Τρώεσσι καὶ Ἑκτορι βούλετο
νίκην,
κυδαίνων Ἀχιλῆα πόδας ταχύν· οὐδ' ὁ γε
πάμπαν
ἤθελε λαὸν ὀλέσθαι Ἀχαικὸν Ἰλιόθι πρό.

According to this interpretation βούλεσθαι νίκην means 'desiring victory for one party rather than the other.' In Ψ 682, where the contest is between two boxers, the subject of βούλετο νίκην is not a god, but a man, a bystander :

τὸν μὲν Τυδείδης δουρικλυτὸς ἀμφεπονεῖτο
θαρσύνων ἔπειν, μέγα δ' αὐτῷ βούλετο νίκην.

Here again the meaning must be 'to favour one party rather than the other.' This last use of βούλετο is instructive. In connexion with N 347, P 331, &c., it shows that the only meaning which will apply in every case is the one of 'choice,' 'preference.' It seems altogether unnecessary to introduce the metaphysical distinction between the meaning of a 'mere wish or inclination,' when used of men, and the meaning of an 'active wish that looks forward to its accomplishment as soon as possible,' when used of gods. In two other lines, A 112, 113, βούλομαι clearly expresses preference. O 51, is cited by Buttman as a case of a mere wish :

τῷ κε Ποσειδάων γε, καὶ εἰ μάλα βούλεται
ἄλλῃ,
αἶψα μεταστρέψει νόον μετὰ σὸν καὶ ἐμὸν κῆρ.

Here, however, βούλομαι evidently signifies 'to prefer' one course to another. Ω 39, cited by Buttman as expressing the will of the gods and quoted in connexion with H 21 and M 174, is naturally rendered 'ye prefer to give aid to Achilles (rather than rescue Hector's body).'

There remain only two cases that may seem doubtful, but here also βούλομαι may easily be interpreted as denoting preference. Ω 226 is cited by Buttman as expressing willingness.

* * * εἰ δέ μοι αἶσα
τεθνάμεναι παρὰ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,
βούλομαι.

Priam has been assured by Iris of personal safety in his attempt to ransom Hector's body, but admitting here the possibility of death at the hands of Achilles, he declares

his preference for such a death rather than further life in his present condition. A 67 is quoted by Buttman as expressing the active wish or the will of the god. αἱ κέν πως * * * * βούλεται * * * ἡμῖν ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἀμῖναι. We may render it 'in the hope that Apollo may choose to ward off from us ruin (rather than continue the plague).' Two prospects confront the Greeks, the continuance or discontinuance of the pestilence. The offended god must be induced to choose to discontinue the plague.

In the *Odyssey* βούλομαι is used 12 times. It occurs with ἦ 7 times, γ 232, λ 489, μ 350, π 106, υ 316, ρ 81, 404. In 10 other passages, α 234, γ 143, δ 275, ι 96, λ 358, π 387, ο 88, ρ 187, 228, σ 364, βούλομαι evidently denotes preference. For example, σ 364,

οὐκ ἐθελήσεις
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πτώσσειν κατὰ δῆμον
βούλει,—

'You're not willing to go to work, but you prefer to go begging about the country.' In every case the context shows that two things are thought of, and that βούλομαι indicates a choice between them. The two remaining passages admit of the same interpretation: δ 353 [οἱ δ' αἰεὶ βούλοντο θεοὶ μεμνησθαι ἐφετμέων]. This line was athetized by Zenodotus and is bracketed by most editors. Therefore, we shall not dwell upon it. ο 21,

κείνον βούλεται οἶκον ὀφέλλειν, ὅς κεν ὀπνίῃ,
παίδων δὲ προτέρων καὶ κορυιδίῳ φίλοις
οὐκέτι μέμνηται τεθνήγος οὐδὲ μεταλλᾷ.

A contrast is here set forth between a woman's former house and husband and her present husband, and a choice is made in favour of the latter.

We have found that of the 38 examples of βούλομαι 12 are used with ἦ, and the remainder imply preference, where the comparison and choice are more or less distinctly indicated but are never entirely absent. The uses of βούλομαι without ἦ merely show a less formal and sometimes less distinct contrast. ἐθέλω in connexion with ἦ is not found in Homer, although the word occurs about 8 times as often as βούλομαι. The facts seem to show that ἐθέλω is the general expression for wishing, and βούλομαι the particular expression for preference.

The distinction that Buttman draws between the use of βούλομαι with reference

to men and its use with reference to gods can hardly be maintained. He admits that *θέλω* is used to express a mere wish, where he would expect *βούλομαι*, as in H 182, quoted above. Furthermore, *θέλω* is used of the gods to signify *will*, while, according to Buttmann, *βούλομαι* is also thus used. See ρ 424, Ξ 120, T 274, ε 169. The subject of *βούλομαι* in Homer has reference to gods 16 times, 12 in the *Iliad* and 4 in the *Odyssey*. The greater frequency of this use in the *Iliad* is explained chiefly by the fact that there the phrase *βούλεσθαι νίκην* occurs 5 times, whereas it is not found in the *Odyssey*. The subject has reference to persons 22 times, 7 in the *Iliad* and 15 in the *Odyssey*. This difference is also to be explained by the subject-matter. If *βούλομαι* always signifies preference, no distinction can well be drawn between its use with gods and its use with men.

There are other indications that we have given the correct interpretation to *βούλομαι* in Homer:

1. *βούλομαι* occurs 38 times and *θέλω* 294 times. This large excess in favour of *θέλω* is unexplained, at least by their meanings, if we suppose that *θέλω* expresses a wish combined with design, and *βούλομαι* a mere wish or willingness.

2. *βούλομαι* is never used with a negative, while *θέλω* is thus used 81 times. It is natural to say 'I am unwilling,' and *οὐκ θέλω* is often used in this sense, but it is quite unnecessary to use a verb of preference negatively.

3. There is a difference between these verbs as regards the position they occupy in the clause and the line. There are indications that the first place in the clause and the first in the line are emphatic, certainly far more emphatic than the second place in the clause, which has been shown by Wackernagel (*Indog. Forsch.* i. p. 333 ff.) to be unemphatic. *βούλομαι* takes the first place in the clause or line in 30 per cent. of its occurrences, in 10 per cent. it is used with *πολύ* or *μάλα*, and in 23 per cent. it is placed just before the main caesura. *θέλω*

stands first in the clause or line in 12 per cent. of its occurrences. In estimating the place of *θέλω* we have eliminated 40 participial forms and 48 cases where the verb is used in a clause consisting of but two or three words, of which *αἶ κ' θέλῃσι* is a type. Taking the remaining cases we find *θέλω* standing second in the clause, or as near second as possible, in 37 per cent. of the occurrences. Here we have considered such combinations as *εἰ δ', αἶ κ', ἐπεὶ οὐκ, ἦ ῥ', &c.*, as a single element of the clause. When *θέλω* follows these combinations, it is as near second as it can be placed. *δέ, κέ, οὐκ, &c.*, occupy strictly the second position, according to Wackernagel. *θέλω* recognizes their prior claim but still shows an unmistakable fondness for the second place. On the other hand *βούλομαι* is found second in the clause but twice, ο 21, π 387, about 5 per cent. of the examples, and these instances may perhaps be accounted for by the emphasis of the preceding word and the exigencies of the verse. This tendency to give prominence to *βούλομαι* as over against *θέλω* accords with the meaning of 'to prefer,' which we found to be always contained in it. This difference of position can be illustrated by μ 348,

εἰ δὲ χολωσάμενός τι βοῶν ὀρθοκραίων
νῆ' ἐθέλῃ δλέσαι, ἐπὶ δ' ἔσπονται θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
βούλομ' ἅπαξ πρὸς κῆμα χανὼν ἀπὸ θυμὸν
δλέσσαι,
ἣ δὴθὰ στρεφύεσθαι ἔων ἐν νήσῳ ἐρήμῃ.

'But if he be somewhat wroth for his high-horned cattle, and is fain to wreck our ship, and the other gods follow his desire, rather with one gulp at the wave would I cast my life away, than be slowly straitened to death in a desert isle.' In later Greek *βούλομαι* shows traces of this early use, as in *Anab.* 3, 4, 41, 42, but in general it appears to have been extended in its application and to have taken on new meanings.

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SOPH. TRACH. 56 AND EURIP. MED. 13.

THE next best thing to being the first to put forth a successful emendation of the traditional text of a classical author is to be an independent second. Of this I have been twice reminded within a comparatively

short space of time. In the correction *πάρος* for *πατρός* in Soph. *Trach.* 56 (see *Class. Rev.* vii. 450) I was anticipated by Mr. H. W. Hayley (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* iv. 203 sq.). In my dis-

cussion *Of Two Passages in Euripides' Medea* included in the *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler* (Macmillan, 1894) I corrected the αὐτῇ of *Med.* 13 to αὐτῶι—'a necessary correction' in the words of the late Professor Merriam. But this emendation I now find had been made several years earlier by a native Hellenist, Geórgios M. Sakorráphos, Δ. Φ., whose *Medea* with modern Greek notes issued from the press of Sakellários at Athens in 1891 (the preface is dated at Leipsic, 11th August, 1891). I may add that in the further discussion of the passage (vv. 6-16) Mr. Sakorráphos and I do not agree in all respects. He keeps the (to me) impossible φυνγῆ of vs. 12 and makes the τε of vs. 13

correlative to μὲν in vs. 11. The latter is rather strange, for Mr. Sakorráphos understands the words ἐχθρὰ πάντα essentially as I do. (Cf. ἐχθρὰ πάντα· δηλ. πάντες οἱ πολῖται, οὓς ὑπανίσταται ἡ Μήδεια ἐν 218 κ. ἐφ. with 'Does not then ἐχθρὰ πάντα refer to the other class alluded to above, the people of Corinth, who were formerly friendly to Medea, but are now, as represented in their royal family, become her foes?') Curiously too he explains τὰ φίλτατα in vs. 16 as equivalent to οἱ σύγγροι instead of as τὰ τοῦ λέχους. However to Mr. Sakorráphos belongs the credit of the emendation αὐτῶι, until a prior claimant to that honour be produced.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

THE CORRECTIONS IN THE FLORENCE MS. OF NONIUS.

THE late Mr. J. H. Onions, in his posthumous edition of Nonius Marcellus *De Conpendiosa Doctrina* i.—iii., just issued from the Clarendon Press, points out the immense importance of certain corrections found in the ninth century Florence MS. of that author (Laur. xlviii. 1).

These corrections have been made in a lighter ink than that used by the original scribe or his first corrector. Mr. Onions refers to them in his edition of Nonius by the sign F³; but as the result of the method followed in his critical apparatus he has noted only those readings where F³ is at variance with all or the majority of the other MSS. It seems of importance therefore, as these corrections are all that remains to us of an undoubted *codex optimus*, that scholars should have access to a complete list of them all: of those which conform to the usual text as well as those which depart from it.

Acting under the advice of my friend Mr. W. M. Lindsay of Jesus College, Oxford, who has been engaged in seeing Mr. Onions' edition of Nonius through the press, I have accordingly spent some time in providing the following conspectus of the corrections of F³. It includes erasures which from ink-marks or some strong peculiarity of the consequent reading are plausibly assigned to this corrector by Mr. Onions, but not those which have nothing to show their origin. Some of these may of course have been due to F³, but with this inevitable exception I believe the list will be found complete.

If any apology be needed for the appearance of such a conspectus in the pages of the *Classical Review*, it lies ready to hand in the preface to the Clarendon Press edition of Nonius. Mr. Onions there argues that the lost codex now represented by F³ was not vitiated by the transposition of a leaf from Book iv. to the beginning of Book i., and must therefore have been derived from a different archetype from that of all the other MSS. of this author, which without exception show this mistake. If this be so, then F³ represents a source which is of the same paramount importance for the text of Nonius as—to compare small things with great—the Milan Palimpsest has for that of Plautus.

In the following list italics are used to indicate the precise letters with which F³ has interfered, and in cases of erasure or punctuation the appropriate signs are employed for the same purpose. A = addidit; C = correxit; Conj. = conjunxit; D = deleuit; Dist. = distinxit; E = erasit; N.L. = novum lemma. The references are made to the pages of Mercier's edition and the lines of Onions' pages.

- 1, 13 mau's C.
- 18 hic A.
- 2, 3 Si C.
- 15 Se-nium A. E. Conj.
Veliterna A.
- 26 Lucios C.
- 3, 13 *A marg.
- 28 causa ^ E?
- 4, 5 ponti—ca E, Conj.

- 4, 7 dixi iturum C.
 5, 4 pellecto \wedge ri C. E.
 6 attemptet A.
 Aulularia C.
 9 a temulento A marg.
 13 \wedge olfac \wedge te—metum E, Conj.
 19 nullus D.
 22 Sticho A.
 27 Varro \wedge honos E.
 6, 10 Virgilius C.
 14 transenna A.
 16 propri \wedge e E.
 26 calui C.
 28 Set C.
 7, 3 sin \wedge onit E.
 11 susum D.
 30 hoccatores D.
 8, 11 impedimenta C.
 implicationes C.
 9, 4 coagmentum C.
 14 γενε \wedge θλιακόν Conj. C.
 15 Amussis A.
 16 quaedam A.
 17 *A marg.
 18 Mutus N.L.
 25 pinnis C.
 10, 13 il—lex E Conj.
 11, 2 fartim parum D.
 12 Toralius N.L.
 *A marg.
 13 struebant C.
 14 torta C.
 15 *A marg.
 20 ero \wedge
 12, 1 ea C.
 2 XVIII A.
 4 Exspes D.
 21 Uarro pappo aut Indige nasturcium.
 Indige non invides in eo dici quod
 nasum torqueat ut uestispicam C.
 marg.
 13, 3 Sicuti \wedge E?
 4 gretaceant A.
 10 equorum A.
 16 Phoenissis D?
 17 Quae A.
 14, 4 Silent \wedge oracla, Dist. }
 oraclam D. }
 6 rei A.
 15 pinnis C.
 15, 4 propriaetas D.
 6 abs te A.
 qui sis C.
 15 pater C.
 19 ut in A.
 27 Idem A.
 Meleagro C.
 29 ubi A.
 16, 8 exanimato Dist. (punct. infr. x).
 16, 13 extis—pices Conj.
 24 onus A.
 31 succus—set Conj.
 32 lib. III \wedge E?
 17, 2 blandimentum A.
 11 Pinnata C.
 30 dor \wedge so E?
 31 Machaerio A.
 32 murenam C.
 18, 1 uligo C.
 13 sumitur C.
 28 quia D.
 34 Turbitanus D.
 19, 20 magnum C.
 21 uanno Confirmavit in marg.
 23 e \wedge go E?
 20, 4 repromittas A.
 5 l—udas Conj. C.
 9 clopee C.
 19 hocculto D.
 30 tractum a Graecis qui A.
 31 uenenum A.
 31 32, Phinidis—se C., Conj.
 21, 1 qua \wedge si E?
 3 plantas C.
 4 Virgilius C.
 5 \wedge Eiectoque E?
 9 oleo C.
 31 Nemo illa uiuit carie A.
 22, 6 immissas A.
 23, 11 Munes C.
 nonam largiatia D.
 16 nemo \wedge C. Dist.
 20 precando C.
 24, 11 ignominiam A.
 22 est A.
 23 ii A.
 25, 16 coaxonem D.
 26, 2 aut \wedge uaram Dist. A.
 Amphitreonis A.
 3 nlenam D.
 6 neunum D.
 12 ua \wedge rices E?
 13 $\pi\epsilon\pi\iota$ Dist. (punct. supr. ρ).
 18 ales A.
 20 dictum C.
 22 hae A.
 24 pappa \wedge pae E?
 en'KWMON Dist.
 27, 13 EKZOTHCOΔOY A.
 15 So \wedge crates E?
 18 Eidem A.
 20 Putus C.
 21 putus C.
 23 Chrysosandalos C.
 locat C.
 24 Tarentina C.
 28, 3 sed sed D.
 6 immittere A.

- 28, 14 *Sesqueulixes quocumque* A.
 16 *Fulgura* C.
 17 *fulgura* C.
 22 *inuenerunt* A.
 31 *plus* \wedge *inest* E?
 29, 1 *ad cenam* A.
 4 *pedetemptinqu* \wedge e E?
 12 *hominum* \wedge et E?
 16 *Diorus* C.
 20 *Subligac* \wedge *lum* C? E?
est A.
 25 *medium est sic* D? E.
 32 *Et* C.
 30, 2 *Non* C.
 8 *Virgilius* C?
 15 *et* A.
 20 *cultricesque* E?
 25 *Virgilius* C.
 32 *Difficillimum* C.
 35 *Inops* C.
lib. VIII A.
 31, 12 *in Asinaria* A.
 13 *Ten ego* A.
 16 *Virgilius* C.
 20 *radii* C.
 29 *Virgilius* C.
 32, 6 *Virgilius* C.
 10 \wedge *Et* E?
 21 *Virgilius* C.
 23 *sui dederat* A.
 32 *Virgilius* C.
 33 *lauandi* C.
 33, 4 *Propinare a* C.
 17 *rideatur* C.
 18 *Virgilius* C.
 34, 10 *fuert* \wedge E?
 17 *summun domi nobilem* A.
 22 *exercitum* \wedge E?
 23 *una* \wedge *legione* E?
 24 *et plaudare* A.
 35, 1 *Voluptas* C.
 12 *instringat* D.
stringat A.
 17 *et quae* A.
 21 *q[uaere]* A *marg.*
 25 *Nugator* N.L.
turbator C.
Lucilius lib. XXX. A.
 28 *Tusculanarum* C.
 30 *fabricatura est* D.
 31 *Discerniculum* \wedge E?
 36, 13 *Fenestrae* N.L.
 16 *Emungi* N.L.
 24 *a* \wedge *stringitur* E?
 25 *XXVIII* D.
 26 *colla-reque* C. *Conj.*
 33 *quae* A.
 34 *lutum* A.
 37, 1 *aquam* A.
 9 *maciae* C.
 37, 10 *quae* A.
 14 *Quae* A.
 17 *clan* \wedge *culum* E?
 32 *fortunatoris* A.
 38, 5 *Publicanum zero* A.
 18 *lib. XXVI* \wedge E?
 39, 27 *pillis* D.
 40, 3 *Rastraria* C.
 6 *sedere* \wedge *Turpilius* C., *Dist.*, C.
 11 *proloqui* C.
 20 *Decumo mense* A.
 23 *adsimulanter* C.
 29 *optulit* C.
 41, 5 *Stigmatias* C.
 7 *coniugem* C.
 14 *reserat* \wedge *sedes* E?
 17 *foetis* D?
 19 *am* \wedge *nibus* E?
quotiens C. *quotiens* A
 22 *abundans* \wedge E?
 29 *Vi* \wedge *taque* *Dist.*
illa A.
 31 *providendo* C.
 33 *prudentiam* A.
Et de s. A.
 42, 2 *praeteritorum* \wedge E?
 3 *prudentia* \wedge E?
 5 *providendo* C.
 12 *quae* D?
 24 *Venatore* C.
 43, 4 *quos* C.
 11 *uita* \wedge *bili* E?
 20 *propr* \wedge *ietas* E?
 23 *concernare* C.
 28 *iis* A.
 29 *Idem in Achad.* C.
 30 *maxime* A.
 44, 5 *talibus* C.
 7 *fugisset* \wedge *panis* E?
 8 *quod* C.
 10 *balatu* C.
 12 *nugas* C.
 13 *Idem* A.
 20 *adigenda* A.
 22 *es* \wedge *te* E?
 23 *conprecata* C?
 27 *Ed-epol* *Conj.*
 31 *cerritus* \wedge E?
 45, 16 *Propriam* N.L.
Croccitum N.L.
 20 *dormi* \wedge *entibus* E?
 26 *sensis-se* *Conj.*
Virgilius C.
 46, 2 *Varro* A.
 9 *frigido* \wedge *se* E?
 12 *uirilitatem* C.A.
et C?
 15 *Ludibria* N.L.?
 16 *ludichro* D.
Virgilius C.

- 47, 1 uolucere C.
2 proferat C.
9 est \wedge commune E?
25 Tutilinam A.
48, 5 conuiuium A.
6 exhibetur A.
11 menippus A.
anti-qui Conj.
nostri in C.
18 Elixum N.L.
49, 1 Trossuli C.
Trossuli equites romani dicti A
marg.
3 Trossuli C.
7 Sexagesi C.
glaber C.
14 cetararios D.
15 escendere A. }
sescedere D. }
16 perspiciant A.
21 Tibinos N.L.
23 Dierekti A.
27 ueterina C.
50, 4 erigunt \wedge E?
Virgilius in C.D.
7 Casina \wedge E?
8 nam \wedge nunquam E?
11 eo \wedge dictos E.C.
16 Ventorum N.L.
17 *Ventorum proprietates et vocabu-*
lorum significationes in tractatibus
nobilium philosophorum quaesitas.
A marg.
18 NOYC A.
51, 8 Virgilius C.
12 inelytus C.
16 rudere C.
17 proprietatem A.
22 ratione \wedge naturae E?
24 dissoluatur C.
Virgilius C.
52, 4 separaturquae D?
13 concessa sit; Dist.
17 propitiari C.
24 antiquitatis D.
53, 4 spatius C.
14 Virgilius C.
16 quidem A.
54, 2 foetura D.
3 $\Delta\text{ΠΟΤΟ} \wedge \text{ΥΚΤ}\Delta$ E? }
 $\Delta\text{ΠΟΤΟΥΥΚΤ}\Delta$ C. }
4 foetu D.
6 sine A littera, A.
fenus C.
19 flagitatore A.
20 cum A.
25 sticines A marg.
55, 9 significant-iam Conj.
- 55, 15 Culinam C.
19 Exi \wedge e E?
56, 10 Virgilius C.
12 amfinionem D.
trogoe \wedge dum E?
19 aliquis A.
22 suppeditat C. }
suppeditat Conj. }
24 sarcitricis A.
26 sumant; Dist.
33 uellitis C.
57, 10 nuncupari C.
assint A.
15 perfructae D. }
perfunctae A. }
16 praesunt; Dist.
18 exsolutae D.C.
21 exsoluat D.
58, 1 Agilem \wedge E.
celerem C.
4 \wedge A marg.
10 Virgilius C.
11 templi; Dist.
19 est A.
20 auctius C.
59, 2 *rhethoricorum* D, A.
7 patefecit C.
sceleranti A.
9 uiuant C.
10 Adhoreum D.
12 Propitium C.
14 propiti C?
15 Aut C.
ut A.
24 Virgilius C.
27 patiens C.
60, 3 *potius* A.
5 testis A.
8 attice C.
diceret D.
13 ingenū C.
19 perfectissimum C.
27 hospitā C.
61, 16 Porcae A?
62, 14 *ligna*, Sublineavit.
21 Annalium A.
26 Virgilius C.
63, 1 curiosius A.
Fulguratores C.
22 fulgurum C.
24 fulguratore C.
64, 6 * A marg.
16 lib. *IIII*. C.
19 accessu C.
22 dissuassione D.
27 Item C.
Fratris / Dist. sic.
29 contextums A.
32 mittitēre D.
65, 7 oratiost C.

- 65, 12 quido A?
 13 stomachatur C.
 digladietur C.
 14 to-t ^ uoluminibus Conj. Dist.
 66, 10 Manes *manes* A.
 13 q[uaere] A marg.
 25 Rastros A.
 28 in A?
 67, 9 cantoris D. salitamattibias C.
 13 sumptum C.
 16 *praetacton* A marg.
 17 Compositione C.
 18 Pareutactae A.
 19 exhibeant A.
 21 *atque proletarium* A marg.
 23 proletarios D. }
 proletarios A. }
 68, 3 *et decurionibus* A.
 5 denturmis D.
 7 Incipit de *inhonestis et nove*
veterum dictis id est Populi Ro-
mani per litteras ad filium D.
id est per A litt. A.
 9 Sisenna ^ Hist. E?
 12 Cuius A.
 13 suorum C.
 munera ^ rep. Dist.
 16 Apisci C?
 17 aspicitur D. }
 apiscitur A. }
 18 rete * sic Dist.
 * A marg.
 20 in se A.
 22 Thaunameno C.
 inquit C.
 sororem : Dist.
 23 audit. Dist.
 69, 2 succulento C.
 70, 28 hisdem D.
 71, 4 Nihilne nobis C.
 8 Virgilius C.
 9 accommodat C.
 15 autumnitatis C.
 18 Prometheo A.
 in libro C.
 72, 2 deleniti C.
 24 exitium C.
 26 asscit C.
 29 viscera A.
 73, 27 angustitatem A.
 33 heri A.
 74, 5 Laberiuss D.
 9 illo A.
 18 pinnis C.
 20 euertere A.
 28 effugiam C.
 75, 1 Attius in Aen. D.
 4 adigant C.
 22 Abscondidit D.
 pro abscondidit A.
 75, 26 Leucadia C.
 76, 3 Ennius D. }
 Neuius A. }
 4 extra D.
 5 Adquo A.
 6 adquo A.
 9 adquo A.
 12 Apricari D.
 13 cotidie A.
 77, 11 *summopere* A.
consumpsisset A.
 17 Baetere C.
 19 baetere C.
 27 obbrutescat C.
 78, 7 lauat C.
 21 Ut C.
 32 Furenter C.
 nemus C.
 34 prodest A.
 obloqui C.
 79, 7 Virgilius C.
 19 ut C.
 20 fulminis C.
 30 auttumedo D.
 35 basis D.
 80, 8 potius C.
 15 balbutiens C.
 18 Bura dicitur C?
 22 relinquunt C.A.
 23 Virgilius C.
 81, 2 pappas C.
 3 mam-mam E, Conj. C.
 11 farris C.
 triti A.
 21 sumpti A.
 29 comestque A.
 33 pro prolaturum D.
 36 Cuius A.C.
 82, 2 in A.
 6 confecisset C.
 7 ex C.
 16 uestrum C.
 18 Aboriginibus C.
 25 Varro A.
 83, 5 continenter C.
 7 Cosmotoryne C.
 9 tiniam C.
 10 mensula bino C.
 14 pabulo A.
 25 Comedim A.
 Bacchidibus A.
 84, 8 *adservabam* C.
pallium observabam A.
 9 Columnum C.
 giunere C.
 11 hiberam D?
 12 Colustra C.
 16 Conquiniscere C.
 19 Iden D.
 26 prosperum A.

- 84, 30 *honestet et A.*
 85, 24 *Iouis C.*
 26 *conquiescit C.*
 28 *remum A.*
 31 *bacchanal A.*
 86, 6 *toribus C.*
 9-10. *cecutiunt.*
lippiunt A marg.
 14 *humili A.*
 19 *effatus C.*
 24 *homili C.*
 30 *Cissium C.*
 87, 5 *lignantur C.*
 10 *Confutare C.*
 16 *confutat tria C.*
 27 *clipeat operit A marg.*
 29 *galeare operire A marg.*
 31 *conuarsare D.*
 33 *conuarsassem D.*
me coicerem A.C. }
eicerem D. }
 88, 4 *est haec C.*
 5 *li-ras E. Conj.*
 12 *cum me C.*
 19 *magonis C.*
 22 *probitatem D.*
 29 *Contemnificum C.*
 89, 5 *Medea C?*
 10 *uolunt : / Dist. sic in marg.*
 11 *cernundi (Dist. linea supra n).*
 27 *cauerunt A.*
 90, 10 *Doloreste C.*
 18 *eorum A.*
 21 *congermanati C.*
 22 *collabella adiunge labra A. marg.*
 24 *heminis C.*
 30 *in A.*
 31 *exculeto C.*
inpatienti C. '
catulentem A.
 91, 6 *cupientis C.*
 10 *q[uaere] A marg.*
 12 *uesperi C.*
 13 *meuis C.*
 16 *sententiam A.*
 20 *primi somni Sisenna C.*
lib. IIII. A.
 27 *obtenduntur C.*
 30 *cogitata A.*
 92, 12 *Quadrifariam N.L.*
 17 *solere A.*
 19 *calificimur C.*
 27 *Tusculanarum A.*
 28 *lib. IIII. A.*
 29 *illum D. }*
illa C. }
 93, 1 *Itaque D.*
 5 *ciures C.*
 13 *cupbarem C.*
 20 *Caulem uitis palmitem A marg.*
 93, 27, 28 *continuatur A.*
 94, 4 *Cocsendices A.*
coxas A.
 7 *Re A.*
 11 *oleam A.*
salentinam A.
 14 *conuiuium A.*
 25 *singulae C.*
 26 *A primo A.*
compito C.
 28 *illum A.*
consuetudinem A.
 95, 1 *amoui ^ lenonem ^ Dist.*
 2 *exiret D.*
 8 *uerbis A.*
 14 *potest D.*
 20 *deruncinatus C.*
 26 *diuidos C.*
 27 *diuidos C.*
 30 *Lucretius C.*
 96, 1 *domitionem domoitionem A marg*
Hermiona C?
 9 *obloqui C.*
 97, 24 *promerere A.*
 98, 7 *solitus C?*
 9 *uult C.*
sermo x mater Dist.
 20 *nosse ^ nec ^ Dist.*
esse A.
 27 *eram A.*
 29 *uelitatus C.*
 99, 8 *Amphitryone C.*
 9 *fauitores A.*
 22 *forcipes C.*
 24 *satiis C.*
 100, 11 *dimissum A.*
 26 *Ovos A.*
 101, 1 *dicteria quasi }* *A marg.*
dicta non seria }
 6 *dispalantur A?*
 [At the top of foll. 42 vers. and 43 rect.
 F³ adds :—
 DE HONEST · ||
 ET NOVE DICTIS ·]
 18 *dissensionis C.*
 19 *Phoenissis C.*
 22 *Diuitias C.*
 23 *Deintegrare D.*
separare C.
 32 *euirescat pallescat A marg.*
 33 *exsanguinibus A?*
 102, 2 *Prilia D.*
 4 *euallauero A.*
 7 *Bacchidibus A.*
 16 *officio A.*
 22 *uix C.*
 27 *exculpere A.*
 33 *in urundines C.D*
honorum et D.
 103, 6 *sine C.*

- 103, 7 *exsanguis* D.
10 *prop* \wedge *errans* D. Dist. A.
17 *Emungere* C.
23 *Tusculanarum* C.
25 *Multa* C.
- 104, 1 *Achademicis* A.
2 *scelerato* A.
- 105, 10 *Damacrianum* C.
13 *culeratum* C.
27 *Tusculanarum* A.
34 *nauticiae* C.
- 106, 3 *Damacrinum* C.
24 *aceruas* C.
- 107, 3 *exequiis* A.
10 *exhedram* D.
12 *Virgilius* C.
15 *magno-s erebi* \wedge Conj. E.
28 *naturalia* C.
30 *sine in eugio* D.
- 108, 8 *lib. VII. C?*
10 *Catullus* A.
15 *q[uaere]* A marg.
excissatis A.
19 *pontinae* D.
23 *Menaechmis* C.
27 *fascis calciamenta* C.
sine \wedge *ephippie* E?
- 109, 5 *lib. III. D.*
15 *uestra* C.
16 *diffortunent* D.
18 *fallaciam* C.
20 *fici*; *Nouius* Dist.
24 *Naevius* C.
29 *famulitas* C?
30 *Accius* A.
- 110, 4 *periit* D? (*rasura incompleta*).
6 *Sallustius* A.
14 *flaccet* A.
22 *XXVI* C.
23 *fulguritarum* C.
31 *non* C.
- 111, 1 *frangi* C.
8 *F* A marg.
10 *copia* \wedge Dist.
13 *ne* C.
20 *At* A.
25 *nobilitate* A.
30 *Haud* C?
34 *an paruum* A.
35 *Tereo* D.
38 *tu* A.
- 112, 1 *Annali lib. A.*
2 *uobisquae* D.
quiritis C.
4 *frusta* A.
12 *animus* C.
17 *Virgilius* C.
24 *fax* D.
27 *foco* C?
28 *alb-a* C. Conj.
- 113, 1 *Latinos* C.
5 *catilinario* C.
6 *hostis* A.
7 *frui* A.
8 *ego ac tu* \wedge C. Dist.
10 *frunisci* \wedge Dist.
12 *Varro* A.
13 *hospitium* A.
18 *dantque* C.
20 *Historiarum* A.
25 *Tantum* C.
- 114, 1 *lib. II. A.*
2 *Præcipue cum* A.
9 *stercora* C.
13 *soluti scilicet* A.
14 *faex* C.
23 *lepido* C.
25 *Tusculanarum* A.
q[uaere] A marg.
28 *honorem* A.
- 115, 5 *testitudinem* D.
7 *grandescunt* A.
15 *horridinis* D.
18 *terminosos* C.
19 *Gladiatores* A?
20 *calu-unt* Conj.
22 *inistatangentur* D.
28 *quae* A.
- 116, 1 *lacrimae* C.
5 *gracilitudo* C.
9 *Protesilaodamia* C.
19 *graudaeuitas* \wedge Dist.
35 *sustulit* A.
- 117, 1 *Cinerario* C.
18 *promptiores* A.
23 *lib. III. A.*
27 *defraudans* D.
30 *defraudet* D.
- 118, 1 *lamiae* C.
2 *illiae* D.
5 *quae* A.
10 *Caecilius* A.
12 *germanitate* \wedge Dist.
24 *sic* A.
25 *insula* \wedge *ueneris* Dist.
30 *Hic* A.
31 *congerio meus* A marg.
meus \wedge Dist.
33 *depopulator* A.
- 119, 3 *et et* D.
10 *ganeo* A.
16 *grammonsis* D.
17 *Gigerica* D.
- 120, 4 *duint* A.
5 *Horatius* A.
13 *marini* A.
21 *hippocampi* A.
- 121, 1 *diu* C.
3 *proficis* \wedge *hilum* Dist.
5 *Sisyphus* C.

- 121, 13 *recedere* D.
 29 *Haebes* A.
obtusio D.
 122, 1 *et insenscentis* A.
hebetiora C.
 6 *Bohillae* A.
 9 *habitem* C.
 18 *Tusculanarum* A.
 21 *soldali* D?
persuasit A.
 29 *infractioem torporem* A marg.

- 122, 29 *Tusculanarum* A.
 30 *aegritudo* A?
 123, 10 *gestum* C.
amictum A.
 11 *Aeneadis* C.
 14 *pro* Transposuit.
 19 *alii* D.
 20 *nunc* C.
 29 *Duloreste* A Dist.

J. WOOD BROWN.

(To be concluded in the next number.)

LINDSAY'S 'LATIN LANGUAGE.'

The Latin Language, an Historical Account of Latin Sounds Stems and Flexions, by W. M. LINDSAY, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford; at the Clarendon Press; 8vo. pp. xxviii. and 659. 21s.

'SINCE Corssen's great work (last edition, Leipzig, 1868—70) there has been no book devoted to a separate investigation by Comparative Philological methods of the Latin Language...and the changes of its pronunciation and orthography, if we except the short summary written by Prof. Stolz (last edition, 1889). And yet the additions to our knowledge of the subject since Corssen's time have been very great. Not only has the whole science of Comparative Philology been, by the help of men like Johannes Schmidt, Osthoff and Brugmann, set on a sounder basis, but a vast amount has been added to our knowledge of the early Latin authors, especially Plautus, of the Umbrian, Oscan and other dialects of ancient Italy, of Romance, and above all of the Celtic family of languages....The time has surely come for a new treatment of the subject.'

No one can doubt the truth of these words, with which Mr. Lindsay introduces his treatise on the formal side of Latin Grammar. Corssen's own work has been so much overshadowed by later and more accurate research that it is hard now to remember that in its day it made an epoch. English scholars who were first trained in philology by the precision and stimulating brevity of Mr. Roby's first volume need sometimes to be reminded how largely the substance of that volume was the fruit of Corssen's labours. Since his day the study of Indo-European philology has been organized on so much clearer lines that it is hard for any single book dealing with one of the

better known languages to mark so conspicuous an advance; but there can be little doubt, I think, that to his own day and generation Mr. Lindsay has rendered substantially the same solid service as Corssen did to his.

The magnitude of the work to be done in any such attempt is suggested in the words of the preface just quoted. To write a Latin Grammar corresponding in detail to the advance of knowledge already achieved in the different provinces of Latin philology, still more to describe adequately the lines in which the research of to-day is running, demands an enormous combination of knowledge. Romance grammar alone is a field almost as wide as the whole range of Indo-European philology in the sense in which the latter has been generally interpreted; yet Romance is only one of the four sources enumerated above. Add to these the fifteen volumes of the *Corpus Insc. Latinarum*; the ancient grammarians from Varro to Bede; and the writings of innumerable moderns continually poured forth in books and in articles, mostly wrong and very rarely readable, in thirty-five learned journals (to count only those from which Mr. Lindsay quotes); and the most devoted student ceases to wonder that in philology even German scholars are beginning to write books in limited liability companies or else to content themselves with 'short summaries.'

No one who knows Mr. Lindsay's masterly settlement of the vexed question of Saturnian metre, his learned and convincing papers on Plautine prosody, or his keen interest in the dim field of Italic inscriptions, will need to be told that in these departments of his work he is thoroughly well equipped. But not in

these alone; so far as I can judge, his knowledge of Romance grammar, and of Latin inscriptions of any and every period, is quite as wide; his acquaintance with modern writings is more complete than one could have thought possible for a single scholar; and his familiarity with the voluminous texts of the Latin grammarians is simply astounding. To amass this varied store of learning and bring it within the compass of a single volume must have been the work of many years, and to have done so is to have laid English scholarship under a permanent obligation which no defects in execution can render doubtful.

It is the rare combination of knowledge that Mr. Lindsay possesses rather than his pre-eminence in this or that branch which gives to his book its unique value. Nevertheless it is only just to point out further that in two departments Mr. Lindsay's claim to speak with authority is as high as that of any living British scholar, and hence in these the contribution of his book to Latin grammar is proportionately great. The first is the prosody of Plautus, which is largely, if not quite, the same thing as saying his language and his text. This source of knowledge is all the more important because in Germany it has long been almost monopolized by the pure classical or 'anti-comparative' school.

A mass of information of the utmost importance is now for the first time put at our disposal. For example, the fact that Plautus normally scans *pōchum, vehicūm*, with orig. -tlo-, as a disyllable and trisyllable respectively, but diminutives like *corculum, porculus*, with orig. -ko-lo-, always as trisyllables, has direct bearing on a whole group of questions in Italic and Latin phonology—but no mention of it as yet has been found in the orthodox text-books. Again the famous 'Brevis Brevians' law with its various classes of examples (e.g. *senēctūtem, volūptātem*) and exceptions (*ābī* but not *āgrī*, nor *lōquī* though of course *lōquōr*, showing that -gr- and -qu- in daily pronunciation had more weight than an ordinary single consonant) comprises a large number of facts which are bound ere long to contribute their quota to the phonetic history of Latin, to say nothing of a hundred valuable details such as the quadrisyllabic scansion of *Minērūd*, and the half-long value of the *a* of *rogat*, etc., which are scattered over chapters ii. and iii. ('Pronunciation' and 'Accentuation').

The second conspicuous merit of Mr. Lindsay's book has been already mentioned,

namely, his astonishing mastery of the Latin grammarians and glossographers. Here he deserves all the honour due to a devoted and successful specialist in an important, but to most scholars a thoroughly repulsive, branch of study. Mr. Lindsay knows his Priscian and Probus, his Marcellinus and Victorinus as well as an ordinary student does, say, the tenth book of Quintilian, so that we have their testimony on controverted matters comfortably excerpted and presented in at least some connexion with the points they concern. And further, he understands what, saving their grace, can only be called 'their tricks and their manners.' He knows when they are lying, and when they know it themselves, and when they only suspect it; when they are giving us their own observations, and when they are retailing prescriptions which had turned musty centuries before their new sponsors were born; when they have one eye on a Greek grammar and another on their own classes of half-barbarian pupils. And the fruit of this hardly won knowledge is that Mr. Lindsay is able to breathe real life into their dry bones; to give a modern student of language something like *terra firma* to walk upon, instead of the slough of despond in which a page or two of Keil (not to add Seelmann) generally leaves one to sink. It is needless to say that the present writer cannot attempt to measure the completeness of Mr. Lindsay's account, but can only gratefully acknowledge that he knows nowhere else to look for anything like so full and so able a statement of the 'witness' of the ancient writers. In this feature of the book, probably, lies its most conspicuous and most enduring utility. From this source come, to mention only one or two examples, the thoroughly satisfactory account (in c. ii.) of the phonetic character of *ī* and *ī̄*, of *ū* in *maximus maximus*, and of the vowel qualities generally; to this and the Plautine evidence (mainly) we owe the admirable description of the varieties of the Latin accent (c. iii.), and the careful discussion of 'hidden quantities' (*incedit, infestus*, etc.); and the welcome suggestion¹ (pp. 12 and 177) that many of the peculiarities of Praenestine and other archaic insec. can be explained by 'syllabic writing,' i.e. a system in which a consonant could be used to represent its

¹ The passage in Scaurus was first pointed out by Sittl in his *Lokale Verschiedenheit der lat. Sprache*. Mr. Lindsay only mentions him as giving 'a full list of examples of omissions of vowels,' without any hint that he had given the explanation.

name in the alphabet, not merely its own sound (*b* for *bē*, hence Mars. *lub* may really represent *lubē(n)s*, Pelign. *Ptruna* = *Petrūn(i)a*).

Other points, which are both new and good, but which I can do no more than mention, are the account of 'syllabic division' (p. 124); of sentence enclitics and proclitics (p. 166 ff.); of the shortening of long final vowels (e.g. *sī mē ānās*, p. 132); and of the use of the 'I longa' to denote a close *i*, both long and short. In the Phonology generally there is less to commend (for reasons which we must examine shortly), but there are, none the less, a certain number of points in which the account given is an improvement on prevailing views; thus the ghost of '-nd' derived from '-tn' in Latin' seems to have vanished; the change of -dr- to -tr- (established by Thurneysen *K. Z.* 1892, p. 562, who is not mentioned in the text, p. 289); and the most important evidence as to the influence of the accent on a preceding double consonant (*quid accēpit*, etc., p. 114) needs only scientific handling to lead to most important results.

It is hard to have to point out the weaknesses of a book which evinces such wide learning and contains so much admirable matter. As I have already suggested, it is doubtful whether a treatise on the scale of either Corssen's or Mr. Lindsay's (attempting, that is, to mention every single form ever noticed for any reason whatsoever by any grammarian) can now be written in Latin philology by a single scholar, even with the genius of a Brugmann or a Mommsen, and doubtful even whether it need be attempted. Prof. Stolz, who is not weighted with anything like Mr. Lindsay's learning, has wisely confined himself within much narrower limits even in (what is virtually) his third Latin Grammar. And where Mr. Lindsay is content with a broad general summary, namely in the large print, he gives us admirable work, weak only, as we shall see, in points of phonology. Thus the chapters on the particles, which are mainly in large print, are thoroughly useful and clear, though rather long. But there will be few students of *The Latin Language* who attempt c. ii. iii. or iv. as a whole, or venture into any of their longer paragraphs in small print without wishing most heartily that its author had taken more time for the logical and mechanical task of arranging the mass of material that he has there collected, at the expense, if need were, of curtailing the chapters on Morphology

which is always the more hackneyed and less important half of a grammar.

This lack of method is felt in two ways, first by the ordinary scholar who consults the book simply to find what there is to be said on some point of special interest to him, secondly by the scientific student of language to whom the phenomena are meaningless unless their arrangement shows how far the laws underlying them are known. In reality these two demands come to the same thing, for the whole object of Science is to present facts in the clearest possible way; but the two classes of readers test two different degrees of precision. How does *The Latin Language* meet the needs of either?

To begin with the 'plain man.' He asks, among other things, that the object of a book shall be carefully defined, its plan properly thought out, that the author's own opinions be either clearly expressed or explicitly withheld; and that, in the shortness of the life present, he be given the same thing to read once and once only. In none of these points can *The Latin Language* be said to succeed. Its radical fault may be seen even in its Table of Contents, where it will be found that the subjects of the chapters I have mentioned (pp. 13-315) constantly overlap. In separating 'Pronunciation' from the 'Latin Representatives of I.-Eu. sounds' we may naturally suppose that Mr. Lindsay meant originally to give under the first heading a 'static' description of the actual sounds of a given, say the Augustan, epoch, adding, perhaps, the evidence of this to be found in the later stages of the language and in Romance; but to reserve for the second heading the 'biological' development by which the I.-Eu. sounds actually took the form so described. Such a scheme must always be difficult to carry out, but by careful cross-references it might have been done without undue repetition. But c. ii. is full of paragraphs (5, 8, most of 11 and 12, 18, 19, most of 22, 30, 38, 40, and many more) that contribute nothing to our knowledge of the actual pronunciation of Latin under Augustus, while others (like 37 and 41) are practically useless where they stand apart from the discussion of the phonetic laws they involve, which is reserved for c. iv. Of course if c. ii. is meant to give an account of the pronunciation of all the sounds at every period of Latin from 600 B.C. to 600 A.D., then these paragraphs are indeed in place; but they are none the less quite useless without the substance of c. iv.

which on this view of c. ii. should certainly have been incorporated.

On the other hand c. iv. is full of references to Romance changes and quotations from the grammarians of exactly the same character as many that are found in c. ii.; to be sure that we have got all that the book can give us on a particular point it is necessary to refer to all the paragraphs connected with it in cc. ii., iv., and indeed in c. iii. which also interlaces with the other two; and in addition to consult the index to see whether the author has changed his view in the second half of the book. Mr. Wharton's 'change of *n* to *r* before *m*' is definitely affirmed on p. 170 (in c. iii.), doubted on p. 271 (in c. iv.) and practically rejected on p. 273. An impossible explanation of *cante* is advanced on p. 179 and again on p. 459 and then half withdrawn in a footnote. Some facts as to the dropping of final *s* in early Latin are given on p. 108, others on p. 123; but no explanation whatever is given nor is even a reference to these sections added in c. iv. (§ 146—156) where the phonetic history of *s* is treated at length (nor can I find anywhere a reference to Brugmann's very reasonable view of the matter as springing from a 'sentence-doublet').

The same confusion appears now and then between the matter treated in the large and in the small print and very often indeed between the treatment of the same facts under different headings. Here repetition is frequent, and, what is worse, repetition with variation. The last paragraph but one of c. ii. § 134 is comprised in § 136 with slightly varied examples and repeated again in § 137. For other cases compare p. 62 with p. 121 (§ 135), iii. § 16 with iii. § 35 (where Mr. Lindsay rightly doubts (p. 204) a wild theory of 'syncope in final syllables following the accent' which is definitely implied at the end of § 16); c. ii. § 18 with § 143; c. ii. § 113 with ii. § 50 and iv. § 160.

A still more grievous habit of obscurity appears in the texture of the long paragraphs in small print. Take c. ii. § 130 (on 'double and single letters') whose first paragraph contains in three unbroken pages, without the least hint of division:

(1) examples of three phonetic changes in late Latin (the changes themselves are not stated);

(2) a trivial and isolated mispronunciation;

(3) exx. bearing on an important change in early Latin (which is nowhere formulated);

(4) a mispronunciation of Latin words by Greeks, and another of barbarian words by Romans;

(5) popular etymologies in all periods of Latin;

(6) an unexplained change in one word (*pilla* for *pila*) in late Latin—this is thrown into the middle of (5);

(7) a group of examples of important phonetic changes (all together, though involving at least four different classes), some in early, some in late Latin, followed by others of similar changes in Italian.

The concluding paragraph of the section (pp. 117—8) is a magnificent medley of examples of all these categories. Over twenty have been given before in the preceding paragraph, but more are now mentioned for the first time. The twenty however are only a fraction of what were given before and the list is not even in alphabetical order. The reader of course is utterly lost, but to complete his confusion the paragraph begins by saying that 'we can generally decide with certainty on the correct spelling,' and then plunges at once, never to emerge, into this list of 'uncertainties' many of which (e.g. Osc. *meddix*) are perfectly certain. I have noted several similar paragraphs.

The weakness of the book from the strict scientific standpoint is even greater, and is a serious drawback to its value. For a long time the reader will fight against this conviction, feeling it scarcely possible that one who is so deeply read in the most modern philological research, and who quotes its conclusions in hundreds of places, should nevertheless be so untrained in its methods and realize so little of its whole spirit. Take for example the use of the word 'tendency,' an unhappy 'loan-word' from Corssen. This appears on almost every page, in one of two senses, either

(1) 'a phonetic change under conditions which have been established but which we will not here consider' (e.g. p. 74, l. 6) or, far more frequently,

(2) a phonetic change whose conditions have not yet been determined,' as on p. 64 'nd shows a tendency to *nn* in forms like Plautus' *dispennite*.'

Now the first of these uses might be defended, as convenient, though a little dangerous, but the second is utterly and miserably fallacious, because, *until the conditions have been determined you have no means whatever of knowing whether the phonetic change took place or not; the form or forms you wish to explain may have*

any one of a dozen other origins. Such terminology (examples *passim*, e.g. pp. 15, 52, 64, 67, 70, 73) reduces the student to despair; it is feeding him with the stone of an everlasting 'perhaps.' And, as might be feared, the author does this explicitly quite as often as by the use of loose phraseology. Again and again he prints what can only be called absolutely irresponsible hypotheses, mere conjectures of unverified phonetic laws which crumble away the moment they are examined, and do nothing but cumber the ground: 'the *ē* vowel (of the suffix *-iē-*) may be a modification of an original *-a-*... so that Lat. *heriem* will exactly correspond to Osc. *heriam*' (p. 344)—a theory which brings the first declension and third and fourth conjugations alike in ruins about our ears, and that without a hint of the danger; 'the *o*-sound [in Plaut. *voco* = *vaco*] apparently having been produced by the influence of the labial *v*' (p. 15)—an influence which mercifully spared the other Latin words beginning with *va-* (e.g. *valeo*, *vapor*), with many more such audacious assumptions which I will not transcribe. Chronology is treated with as little respect as law: *ferbui* 'the classical form' is explained by the late Latin change of *v* to *b* (p. 51); the *tt* of *quattuor* by the *cg* of Italian *acqua* (p. 113); on p. 38 we read that 'the reduction [of *ae* to *i* as in *concido*] was in late Latin seldom carried out'; phonetic changes are 'occasional' (p. 224), 'allowed' (p. 115), 'more and more asserted' (p. 142), 'may happen' (231), being, by the way, continually described as 'interchanges' (e.g. p. 89). Hence we are not surprised to find the appearance of *h* for *f* and *f* for *h* treated as the same phenomenon¹ and that of *o* for *au*, *au* for *o*; nor that 'λύχνος from *λυκσνος' and Mr. Wharton's 'Lat. *a* from I.-Eu. pretonic *e*' are regarded with favour. There are traces of a similarly loose grasp of morphological

¹ The fact is, I believe, that *h* for *f* (= *bh*) is Faliscan, and *f* for *h* (= *dh*, *gh*) is Sabine.

principle, but they are fewer and less serious.

In view of this weakness of method it is to be regretted that Mr. Lindsay so rarely quotes his modern authorities, so that the reader might know whose views he is reading. In itself, in cases where the facts are quite clear, it is purely a matter of taste (and space) whether an author chooses to quote names or not. Even in such cases, where the point is of real importance, a reference might well be added; Zimmer should certainly have been named on p. 523, Wackernagel on p. 165, Bartholomae on p. 462, Osthoff on p. 229. The almost solitary gap in Mr. Lindsay's knowledge that I have noticed is that he does not read the papers published by the Cambridge Philological Society: he has lost in more than one place by ignorance of those by Dr. Postgate and Mr. Darbishire.

But notwithstanding the serious defects that have been pointed out, notwithstanding the grave drawback which they imply to the usefulness of the book, it is, I repeat, a gift of great value to our generation, and one which has cost so much labour that it seems almost inhuman to expect that more should have been spent upon it. Spent however it assuredly will be, but by others. Mr. Lindsay's learning and devoted research have amassed a store of material in which every Latin scholar of his time will find rich plunder. He has succeeded in work which only men of the most solid ability and indomitable industry would have attempted; and in so far as he has failed, it is chiefly because the task as he conceived it was too great for any single scholar, at all events under the ordinary conditions of scholarship in England. In any case, the book retains one sovereign merit; it is absolutely indispensable.

R. SEYMOUR CONWAY.

CARDIFF, 1895.

VERRALL'S EURIPIDES THE RATIONALIST.

Euripides the Rationalist: a Study in the History of Art and Religion. By A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1895. 7s. 6d.

DR. VERRALL has written a work of great originality and ingenuity: but is it a work

that establishes a conclusive basis for future inquirers? I think not; and for this reason, that it pushes certain premises, which in a degree are sound, up to a point at which they become paradoxical. Not only so: but, in the form in which they are presented, they even tend to defeat the very purpose which Dr. Verrall has at heart.

That purpose is to set Euripides on his legs again. Ever since Schlegel's time, he has been depreciated and ignored. Aeschylus and Sophocles have, by different critics, been raised to the highest rank in the poetical hierarchy; have been reckoned almost, if not quite, the equals of Homer; whereas Euripides has been treated as a kind of peddling fellow, a seller of tawdry wares, showy enough in some patches and scraps no doubt, but wholly lacking in dignity of thought and consistency of design.

How does Dr. Verrall seek to contravene this unfavourable judgment? He tells us that we have all mistaken the main purpose of Euripides; that Euripides was, in reality, a great religious reformer; that, all through his plays, he had one single-minded moral purpose, to exhibit the futility and falsehood of the theology accepted by the ancient Greeks, and in particular the profound delusiveness of the Delphic oracle. And he pursued this purpose, according to Dr. Verrall, not only by casual inuendoes, but even more, and more efficaciously, by an undercurrent of rationalistic meaning in some of his principal tragedies; a meaning palpable to the intelligent part of his hearers, and constituting, in fact, a new story, differing from the story which the drama in each case professes to exhibit, and intended to replace the old story in the thoughts of all right-minded persons, both by its greater worthiness and by the delightful irony with which the new is insinuated under the guise of the old. This contention Dr. Verrall undertakes to make clear by an examination of three important plays of his author, the *Alcestis*, the *Ion*, and the *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

The *Alcestis* may well be taken as a sample of all three. In all ancient mythology, there are few more famous stories, few that have been reputed more touching. Who forgets the pathetic allusion in Milton?

Methought I saw my late espoused saint
Brought to me, like Alcestis from the
grave,
Whom Jove's great son to her glad husband
gave,
Rescued from death by force, though pale
and faint.

Alcestis, we all have understood, laid down her life for her husband; consented to die in his place; and then, after she had thus voluntarily suffered, was by the prowess of 'Jove's great son,' Heracles, and by

the will of the divine powers, restored again to the life which she had left, to gladden the hearts of her husband, her children, and her people. In the literal sense, we none of us believe in this story; but it has a place in our minds; it is not all false, though what true events of past time they were that took this outward guise of fable, and have descended to us through the ages, we know not. It is a story which belongs to that twilight of half-belief, in which all mythology and much even of actual history exists for us, and which, though it has not the force of well-grounded knowledge, is yet a region of peace and light for those who can use without misusing it. Poets have ever delighted in such stories; not because they can resolve them into their primary elements, and elicit the underlying truth out of which they grew; but because of the assistance which such stories furnish towards the understanding of the human heart, and for the vivid representation of real feelings.

Was it not, then, with this kind of motive that Euripides composed his play, the *Alcestis*; not indeed as an actually true history, but as a story symbolical of truth, and rendering truth easier for us to comprehend? Dr. Verrall tells us that it was not; that Euripides had an object very much the reverse of this, namely, to demonstrate how very false the fable was which he seemed to be recording; how impossible it was that Alcestis could really have been raised from the dead; what an 'incubus' on the best interests of society the belief in Apollo was; how idiotic the divine honours paid to such a drunkard and glutton as Heracles! That is the great lesson, according to Dr. Verrall, which Euripides expected his audience to draw from the *Alcestis*; which he inculcated 'with zeal and earnestness'; and with which we, to-day, are to sympathize! And if a disappointed auditor or reader, sensible of a certain want in this account of the matter, should ask, What has become of the story? Dr. Verrall has his answer ready: Euripides, he says, intended to present the human elements of the story exactly as they stood before; it is only the divine, or pseudo-divine, elements that he cuts out. This is the process which is known as 'rationalizing'; and accordingly Dr. Verrall entitles his volume *Euripides the Rationalist*.

In brief, the new story which Dr. Verrall says underlies the old familiar story of the *Alcestis* is this: Alcestis was, through the

oracle, hypnotized into the belief that she was going to die (as she had voluntarily taken upon herself to do for her husband's sake) on a certain day; she fell into a condition simulative, first of the approaches of death, then of death itself; she seemed dead, being in a state of coma; and her husband and friends, having shared with her the belief that she was going to die, now naturally believed her dead, and carried her out for burial. She was not however buried underground; she was placed in a receptacle in which her body was, that very evening, to be cremated. (The acuteness of Dr. Verrall in deducing from the play that this was the manner in which the body of Alcestis was to be disposed of, is great: the point is separable from the rest of his theory, and may I think be considered correct.) Luckily, as we all know, Heracles arrived in the nick of time; but the Heracles of the new story is not the mighty demigod of the old; he is a strong-armed rustic, thirsty and bibulous, whose best quality is a native common-sense which prompts him to hasten to the tomb to see if Alcestis is really dead. Whether by good fortune or by perseverance we are not told, but anyhow he succeeds in reawakening her, and brings her back to her astonished husband.

That, according to Dr. Verrall, is the story which Euripides expected the intelligent part of his audience to understand without difficulty as the true theme of the *Alcestis*. Supposing him to be correct in this, he is no doubt further correct in believing that these intelligent people found the poet's *double entendre* highly amusing and stimulative; and he is careful to remark that the self-sacrifice of Alcestis is not at all destroyed, for as she and all around her genuinely believed that she was going to die, her character is not affected by the fact that this belief was a mistake. The pleasure then to be derived from the *Alcestis* is, Dr. Verrall thinks, twofold; first, as a work of extreme delicacy of wit; secondly, and in a subordinate way, as exhibiting a pathetic and noble, though fundamentally mistaken, disposition in the heroine.

Now my first criticism of this theory is that, though Alcestis according to it remains no doubt noble, she is not, as Dr. Verrall supposes, unaffected as regards her character by this new view of her. She is very much less noble than she was. In fact, it is her mental weakness (which we may pardon, but cannot ignore) that causes her seeming death.

She is overcome in a way not incredible certainly, but still distinctly lowering to her dignity. What, then, ought we to think of her? If Euripides has not, by those gentle hints which a great dramatist must ever be feeling after, supplied an answer to this question, he is as veritable a bungler as ever any adverse critic supposed him to be, though his bungling is incurred in pursuit of a more difficult aim than has hitherto been attributed to him. Where, then, in his delineation of the character of Alcestis, does Euripides present us with those delicate touches which imply that, after all, her heroism is justly subject to a certain amount of tender ridicule; that she had something of Don Quixote in her, in the illusory nature of the struggle which she underwent, as well as in the staunchness of spirit with which she underwent it? Dr. Verrall has not taken the trouble to look for any such passages, because in his view there is no need of them; he thinks that Alcestis is just as heroic on the view that the cause of death was a superstitious weakness of her own as on the view that the cause of death was the shock produced by an all-powerful external agent. But it is impossible to hold with Dr. Verrall here; he has lowered the character of Alcestis, and he is bound to show that Euripides was conscious of this lowered view, and that the poet has suited his expressions so as to make us feel both sides of the character, the side on which we admire and love it but also the side on which we must perceive it to be open to laughter and gentle reproach. I certainly should be much surprised, and I believe that every reader of the *Alcestis* will be much surprised, if Dr. Verrall can produce a single passage that implies in the faintest degree that Alcestis was liable to reproach or ridicule even of the tenderest and least aggressive kind.

If Dr. Verrall were right, the writer with whom Euripides would best be compared, in the style of his mind though not in the scale of his compositions, would be Heine. Heine has exactly that double-edged treatment of religion, that mixture of love and satire in his feeling towards it, that tendency to adore which is ever frustrated by the sight of something in the adored object open to a keen shaft from his quiver, which Euripides ought to display if Dr. Verrall's conception of him be true. But who has ever mistaken Heine's meaning?—whereas Euripides, according to Dr. Verrall, has been a sealed book to all the world from the days of the Alexandrian grammarians

until now, except perhaps to Lucian; for Dr. Verrall (pp. 198 *sqq.*) claims Lucian as entertaining the same opinion which he himself holds. This, however, is a claim which can hardly be admitted. All that Lucian says, in the passage quoted by Dr. Verrall, is that Euripides was a sceptic, and disbelieved in the Greek mythology. This, we have reason to believe, was the case; but a sceptical poet may very well assume belief for dramatic purposes, especially if he thinks that there is some underlying truth in the system which in its actual form he rejects. Euripides had enough of vague religious belief to qualify him for treating sympathetically fables which certainly he did not accept as actual facts.

And now I ought to say something about the character of the arguments with which Dr. Verrall supports his thesis, in so far as the *Alcestis* is concerned. Their general line is as follows: The *Alcestis* is, in regard of its leading characters (except Alcestis herself) and especially as regards the divine personages introduced in it, so ludicrous a composition, that we can only suppose Euripides, when he wrote it, to have been poking fun at his own characters. Apollo, Death, Admetus, Heracles, all come under Dr. Verrall's probe, which is applied keenly, scrutinizingly, and with the rigid determination to note scientifically every deflection on their part from right and rational purpose. Other critics, before Dr. Verrall, have weighed Admetus and Heracles in the balance and found them wanting; but none with anything like Dr. Verrall's severity. It is his object to prove that none of these characters deserves to occupy the stage as seriously claiming our respect; therefore, they occupy it as semi-comic persons, at whom we are to laugh. As we are to laugh at them, it is plain there must be some deep joke in the whole matter: what can it be? Being thus put on the scent to discover something supremely ludicrous, we go on to observe that Alcestis is, according to the play, buried on the very day of her death, and without any proper ascertainment of the fact of death. Clearly, then, the secret is out! She never did die; at least, not on this occasion. That is the piece of fun which the Athenian audience were waiting for all through; and thus we come to the conclusion that wit, and not pathos, is the characteristic quality of the *Alcestis*, and of Euripides generally; and in reading his productions, we need not fear lest we should be uncomfortably moved to tears; but we may legitimately fear lest

his exquisite humour should provoke us to unseasonable laughter.

I have been compelled to give a brief summary of an argument which Dr. Verrall elaborates in a hundred and twenty-eight pages; and as a matter of course, I have been unable to do justice to the subtlety of his observations, or to the care with which he tracks out his case. But, as far as one page can represent a hundred, I believe that I have represented him faithfully. It will not, I trust, be thought disrespectful to him if I am obliged to make my answers to the above arguments somewhat brief also.

First, I must for the sake of clearness say again that, if all the other characters in the play are to be deemed comic, there is no reason why Alcestis should be let off. She is, according to Dr. Verrall, subject to a ludicrous delusion; why, if the piece is really a comedy, is this taken out of the list of the subjects at which we are expected to laugh? It is in fact the very cream of the joke that is taken from us; the comedy centres in her. Is it really Euripides who hinders us from laughing at her? but why should he? However, I will not pursue this point farther. I come to Admetus. As I read the play, Euripides treats Admetus with real respect; with greater respect than we moderns, considering the facts, would be inclined to treat him; but different ages are not always alike in their moral judgments. What ground has Dr. Verrall for thinking that Euripides meant to point the finger of scorn at Admetus? He says, for one thing, that Admetus himself knew that he was liable to censure for cowardice. No doubt, Admetus does express the fear lest his enemies should taunt him with this failing (vv. 950—961); they would of course do so, whether he were right or wrong in accepting his wife's sacrifice of herself on his behalf. But do the Chorus countersign this fear of his? They emphatically do not: they tell Admetus that he could not help himself; they bid him take good heart (τάλμα, v. 983); and their topic of consolation is that Alcestis will receive divine honours, and that she is not to be regarded as a common dead mortal. The Chorus, in any Greek play, is ordinarily the representative of the mind of the poet himself; and I take it that it is so here. Clearly they acquit Admetus. But then, says Dr. Verrall, Pheres, the father of Admetus, charges his son with cowardice. Yes; but it is much more to the point to observe that Pheres never thought of doing so till Admetus

charged him with the same vice. Then, of course, Pheres retorted in self-defence; he could not fail to seize so obvious a weapon. But how odious, says Dr. Verrall (and in this he follows a multitude of other critics), was it for Admetus to fix a perfectly needless quarrel on his father in the way he does! to begin by taunting him with cowardice for not consenting to die in place of the son who is at that moment addressing him! and that too, when Admetus knew that he himself was in danger of hearing the same reproach! It was improper conduct in Admetus, no doubt. But did Euripides think so? That is the question that concerns us. It is to be noted that Admetus does not reproach his father purely out of his own head. Alcestis, on her deathbed, had intimated her feeling on the subject; and the Chorus had expressed the same opinion afterwards. 'Thy father and thy mother forsook thee, though it would have been well for them to die, well for them to save their son, and death would have been honourable to them,' says Alcestis (vv. 290-292); and the expressions of the Chorus (466-470) are tantamount. The ancient Greeks had not the same high notion of the rights of the individual man that we have; and they were much more plain-spoken. Euripides, I should say, did not very seriously blame Admetus for the language he used on this occasion.

But now comes that curious point, on which Dr. Verrall is the first critic to lay stress, that the funeral of Alcestis apparently takes place on the same day as her death. What is the reason of this? I think it is to be found in the nature of the legend. Suppose that Alcestis had been allowed to remain for three or four days laid out in state, before her burial (which is the course that Dr. Verrall thinks ought to have been adopted by Admetus), her soul would by the Greeks have inevitably been regarded as already in Hades. But the legend was that Heracles intercepted her on the way to Hades; that he wrested her from the grasp of Death, who was about to carry her thither (see vv. 24-27 of the play). This conflict had then to take place immediately after the departure of her soul from her body, immediately after her death in short. And yet Euripides did not feel at liberty to omit her burial; that is a sign and token of death too conspicuous not to have a place in a narrative in which death was to be insisted on as real. He was obliged then to represent Admetus as

burying her immediately after her death. Is not this a sufficient reason for the circumstance which Dr. Verrall brings forward? We must not probe into conceptions of this shadowy kind with too minute a logical analysis; but I conceive that the above is substantially the true explanation. But what is Dr. Verrall's explanation? He says that Euripides was designedly casting a slur on Admetus in attributing to him this speedy burial of his wife; and that the poet in fact wishes us to infer that Admetus was afraid of meeting the relations of Alcestis at the funeral, and therefore put the ceremony at a time when those relations could not possibly attend! Not to do Dr. Verrall injustice, let me quote his own words.

'It is impossible,' he says, 'that Admetus should not shrink, as one would shrink from slaying, even although one had never been slayed before, from the thought of walking after the bier of Alcestis, first of a noble train, before the assembled townsfolk of Pherae, in the presence of the parents whom he so preposterously maligns, of the kin of his wife (Euripides does not forget them), and of all the curious who could manage to reach the place, knowing that all were saying, to themselves if not audibly,

"See there! alive ignobly, there he skulks!"

His plan is, and all his actions up to the burial have no other object, to escape this horror in the only possible way, by interring his wife, with such ceremony or lack of ceremony as the case might admit, but anyhow instantly, before any one except his household and his chosen associates could know that she was dead' (pp. 57, 58).

Now where, in the whole play, does Admetus show the smallest sign of 'shrinking' from the most public acknowledgment of the facts of the case, of the fact that his wife has taken it upon her to die in his place? He has taken every imaginable means to publish the fact abroad. The knowledge that Alcestis was so to die in his stead is represented as the common property of every one in Greece, and of course of the kinsfolk of Alcestis, among others. (It is only the offended and angry Pheres who threatens Admetus with vengeance from these kinsfolk; otherwise they are unmentioned.) It is true that Admetus feels remorse after her death; but this remorse is by no means intended to be a token of deep-seated guilt. The line which Dr. Verrall quotes,

'See there! alive ignobly, there he skulks!'

and which is spoken by Admetus himself as what he fears his enemies may say of him, receives absolutely no support either from the Chorus or from that other important person, Heracles, who from first to last treats Admetus as a man of conspicuous

integrity and unstained honour. And as such, I am satisfied, it was the intention of Euripides to represent him.

As to Heracles, whom Dr. Verrall also attacks as getting 'very drunk' in the palace of Admetus (p. 26), I will only say that Heracles does not do so. He is flushed with wine, indeed; but he is in his perfect sober senses, his speech is pointed and from his point of view not unreasonable, and he acts, when he has occasion to act, with the utmost promptitude and decision. These are not marks of drunkenness. But no doubt he is jovial; being in ignorance of what has occurred, he is enjoying himself. And I conceive that the reason why Euripides represents him in this way is, that the feeling of having acted with some apparent indecorum is a stimulus to Heracles to endeavour to make compensation for a thing in which he had acted amiss, though in ignorance. It is Admetus, it is true, who has caused him to act amiss; and he gently reproves Admetus for this, as a hero may reprove one who is truly his friend.

My conclusion then is, that both Admetus and Heracles are, as they have always been considered, serious characters, not intended by Euripides to be themes for derision, but on the contrary for admiration; though it does not follow that he thought them in every point unblameable.

And what is to be said of the two other characters whom Dr. Verrall considers to be designedly made ludicrous, 'Apollo' and 'Death'? They appear, as characters, only in the beginning of the play, in a dialogue which takes the place of the ordinary prologue. They are thus not an intrinsic part of the action of the play; and while the main part of the play is entirely serious, it is possible that the dramatist was willing to have some little of the comic element in the prelude to it, especially as the play occupied the place of the ordinary satyric drama (being the fourth in the tetralogy to which it belonged). I incline, in point of fact, to agree with Dr. Verrall as regards this prelude; it reads better, I think, if something of sly humour is regarded as underlying it. But that humour is the principal feature of the play throughout, or that Euripides, in any part of his writings, is distinguished by 'an unsurpassed, and, it may be, unsurpassable wit,' as Dr. Verrall says (p. 91), I cannot think. If it be so, how is it that no ancient critic gives us the least hint of this, as his primary quality? Aristotle calls

him 'the most tragic of the poets': does this look as if Aristotle thought him distinguished, above all things, for humour?

I have dwelt so much on the *Alcestis*, that it is impossible for me here to deal fully with the *Ion* or the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, in both of which Dr. Verrall discerns an underlying story, different from the professed story. From a certain point of view, Dr. Verrall's analysis of the *Ion* may be considered highly successful; but it is the lawyer's, not the poet's, point of view. If *Ion*, *Creusa*, and *Xuthus* had gone before an Athenian law-court, and had requested the judges to sanction for legal purposes the story as it is told in the play, I am afraid that they would have met with a refusal; and that, on the other hand, the gruesome rationalization of it which Dr. Verrall propounds on pp. 152, 153 would have had an excellent chance of being adopted as the true story. But is it not also possible that a court of law might have found some difficulty in affirming the absolute truth of the events narrated in the *Tempest* and the *Midsummer Night's Dream*?

The underlying plot suggested by Dr. Verrall for the *Iphigenia in Tauris* has one great advantage over those which he suggests for the two sister plays; the story is not thereby damaged in its human interest. It is a very great injury to the *Alcestis* (pace Dr. Verrall) to suppose that *Alcestis* did not die, but was only hypnotized; and it is a very great injury to the *Ion* to suppose that poor *Creusa* was entirely deluded in the idea that she had recovered her son. But it matters very little whether *Iphigenia* was miraculously transported to *Taurica* by *Artemis*, or was conveyed there quite naturally by a pirate ship. Yet what real reason is there for thinking that Euripides meant to intimate the latter view? The absurdity of the theological machinery is the main reason on which Dr. Verrall relies; and it may freely be granted that it is absurd. When you look into *Apollo's* conduct, he does not shine here, any more than in the *Ion*. But did Euripides mean *Apollo* to be scrutinized with this lynx-eyed perspicacity? I think not. In works of imagination one must not always be thinking whether the thing represented is perfectly just or natural. Constantly it is not so, and yet the pleasure of the reader is unimpaired. Do we stop to think, in the *Merchant of Venice*, whether any sensible citizen was likely to leave his daughter under such conditions as to marriage as those to which *Portia* was sub-

jected? It is absurd, as soon as we look into it; but we choose not to look into it. Just so, Euripides uses his deities to unravel his plot; he does it rather remorselessly, and (being a sceptic) does not mind having a sly hit at them now and then; but, after all, they are necessary to him; and to suppose that his real object was a rationalistic criticism of theology, and that he held the imaginative beauty of his story a minor matter (as Dr. Verrall argues on p. 212) is by no means the conclusion which the *Iphigenia in Tauris* naturally suggests, or at any rate which it has suggested to any one heretofore.

To conclude. The soundest advocate of Euripides in recent times remains, I think, not Dr. Verrall, but Paley. And that particular element in Euripides which is the foundation of Dr. Verrall's theory about him, his theological scepticism, is treated by Paley with much care and perspicacity; though it is possible that future sympathizing commentators may discover more concerning it that has hitherto been made out. In treating of this subject, the *Hippolytus* and the *Bacchae* deserve great consideration; and the interesting articles which Dr. Verrall has contributed to this *Review* on the latter of these two plays (in March 1894 and May 1895) temptingly

invite discussion; but that must not be on the present occasion.

After all, Dr. Verrall deserves our gratitude, not merely for the cleverness of his volume throughout, or for the points which he does really establish (of which I have indicated two in the present review), but for coming forward as an advocate of Euripides at all. The modern world has been unduly blind to the merits of this great poet. Those merits are, first, a naturalness of style, especially in scenes of pathos, in which he is not unworthy to be compared with the very greatest poets; secondly, the admirable construction of some of his principal plays, especially the *Hippolytus*, the *Bacchae*, and the *Medea*; thirdly, a rare beauty of romantic conception, which reaches its acme in the very latest of his plays, a play which doubtless came from his own hand in an unfinished state and received its final touches from another, the *Iphigenia in Aulis*. These are his merits as a dramatist; but he is also a lyrist of the first order. There is one merit, however, which the world, in spite of Dr. Verrall, will hardly assign to him; and that is, the merit of being the rival and the counterpart, in wit, of his inveterate foe, Aristophanes.

J. R. MOZLEY.

APOLLO THE WIND-GOD.

Der Apollonmythus und seine Deutung.

Von Dr. KONRAD SEHRWALD. S. Calvary, Berlin: 1895. (Berliner Studien für Classische Philologie und Archaeologie.) 1 Mk. 20.

THIS monograph of thirty-six pages aims at proving that Apollo was originally not a sun-god but a personification of Air. Dr. Sehrwald begins by a short criticism of the arguments which are commonly urged in support of the solar theory, and then expounds his own views on the origin of the god. It appears that Apollo was the pure health-giving air which enwraps the earth, the son of Zeus (who is the upper air) and Leto, who was once turned into a shrew-mouse, and wore a dark robe, whence it is shown that she represents the dark air that permeates the interior of the earth. Hera, being, like Zeus, a deity of the higher atmosphere, with a liking for storms, is

jealous of the young god of the lower air. The battle between the Delian Apollo and Pytho typifies the victory won by the healthy, island-born breeze over the foul vapours which lay over Delphi, the *omphalos* of the world, i.e. over all the face of the earth. The connexion of Apollo and the laurel becomes evident, when we reflect that, according to Pliny, this tree is remarkable as a purifier of the air. The god who first made the earth habitable is naturally the founder of cities. In order that the city atmosphere may be kept wholesome, Apollo was worshipped in the darkest and narrowest streets, and the street-doors were put under his protection (p. 15). The immortal gods fear the arms of Apollo, which can take away their health; for, as Dr. Sehrwald carefully explains, the gods can speak and cry aloud and must therefore breathe. And so, when Apollo bends his bow against the assembled gods, they all

rise from their seats in alarm; only Zeus and Leto, the true air-deities, smile and remain seated (pp. 22, 23). After some pages of similar arguments, the author sums up with the conclusion that the manifold functions of Apollo, as the god of life and death, of philosophy, prophecy, seafaring, and medicine, all follow directly from the single primitive conception of the wind-god.

If this method of mythological interpretation were peculiar to Dr. Sehrwald, a few words of criticism might well suffice. The method, when pushed to extremes, results in patent absurdities which may be left to speak for themselves. But as many other students of 'origins' follow the same lines of reasoning, though perhaps with greater caution, it seems worth while to examine the principle by which they are guided. This is really nothing but a lineal descendant of the old method adopted by the makers of the sun-myth. The meteorological school believed that some natural or celestial phenomenon was the origin of most of the great divinities of the Aryan races. Their assumption was, no doubt, to some extent well-grounded; for it is of course indisputable that there was a large element of nature-worship at the bottom of Aryan religions. But the adherents of the school fell into discredit because they pressed into the service of their pet theory every myth and every title connected with the god whose natural origin they wished to emphasize. In other words, they proved too much. Even now, however, although the exaggeration of the sun-myth and the storm-cloud myth is a thing of the past, the principle which produced it appears to flourish. If for 'wind' we read 'sun' or 'dawn,' Dr. Sehrwald's monograph would pass for a typical essay of the sun-myth school. Mythologists of this class forget one very important fact—that, whatever the origin of an Apollo or a Hermes may have been, these gods became humanized at a very early period, of which we can only say that it is prehistoric. It necessarily follows from this that much of the mythology connected with such a god cannot be referred back to his elemental origin, even if (as rarely happens) there is a general agreement upon this question. When the gods had once become anthropomorphic, their worshippers developed conceptions of them as being *men* and not elements. The jealousy of Hera does not represent the strife of one element with another, as Dr. Sehrwald maintains, but is essentially

human; the wife of Zeus has good cause for her hostility to the son of her unfaithful husband. If Leto and Apollo were the only objects of the wrath of Hera, the story might conceivably be explained as an elemental myth; but as her jealousy was continually manifested when Zeus gave occasion for resentment, it is plain that the goddess only feels and acts as a mortal woman might feel and act under similar provocation. Apollo does not found cities because he is the wind, but because he leads his people in their wanderings and presides over their settlements. If he leads them over the sea to form distant colonies, he may easily become the patron of sea-farers. When Dr. Sehrwald attributes these and many other functions of Apollo to a hypothetical wind-origin, he makes the elemental god absorb the anthropomorphic god, whereas the whole history of Greek religion proves that the converse was really the case. It is remarkable that even sober and experienced mythologists confuse the primitive with the developed characteristics of a god, in their anxiety to derive every detail from a single head. Dr. Roscher, for example, is convinced that Hermes was originally a wind-god. This theory is very possibly correct; at any rate a wind-Hermes has far more probability than a wind-Apollo. Some apparently primitive aspects in the conception of Hermes may be plausibly explained by this hypothesis. But Dr. Roscher derives *all* the functions of Hermes from the wind, thus allowing little or no room for the development of the anthropomorphic Hermes. In Arcadia Hermes was the patron of shepherds; and the shepherd was not thinking of any elemental 'origin' when he invented myths and attributes suitable to a shepherd-god. The *σὺριγξ* or *αἶλός* of Hermes was not suggested by the whistling of the wind, as Dr. Roscher supposes, but the pipe or flute of the shepherd himself was transferred to the shepherd's god. We need not see the fertilizing wind in the phallic attributes of Hermes, if we remember that the deity of a pastoral people (whatever his origin) would naturally give increase to the flocks and herds of his worshippers.

In fine, we are not justified in arguing to a presupposed 'origin' from any legend or characteristic of a god, unless there is reasonable evidence that the feature is really primitive and essential, and is not the outcome of purely anthropomorphic development. There is no inherent improbability in the theory that Hermes was

originally the wind, but much of the evidence rests on a false basis; in the case of Apollo there is a very strong inherent improbability, while the evidence brought

forward by Dr. Sehwald is open to the same objection.

E. E. SIKES.

GEHRING'S INDEX HOMERICUS.

Index Homericus, Appendix Hymnorum vocabula continens composuit AUGUSTUS GEHRING. Lipsiae: 1895. 6 Mk.

HERR AUGUST GEHRING has completed his 'Index Homericus' (published in 1891) by a volume containing the vocabulary of the Hymns. The utility of these special Indices and Lexica is universally recognized. Whether as a thesaurus of the language of an author scientifically arranged, or as a help to the memory of the researcher, and a short cut to exhaustive parallels, they are indispensable. Since Herr Gehring's appendix came out I have used it continuously while working at the Hymns, and I have to express my sincere gratitude to him for it.

I do so the more readily that in more than one respect Herr Gehring has fallen short of the ideal at which he aimed. In passing from the Iliad and Odyssey to the Hymns, he was confronted with documents of late tradition and of very uncertain text. It was necessary to take account of these different conditions, and Herr Gehring has done so fully. He appends the variants on the words in his index at the foot of the page, and the apparatus he thus collects is a striking feature, which distinguishes his book so far as I know from all others of the sort. He tells us in his preface that this apparatus consists of the readings of the four last editions—Baumeister, Abel, Gemoll and Goodwin: 'praeterea praestantissimorum codicum varias lectiones recepi, imprimis editionem secutus Abellii.' More than this, he has taken the trouble to collect and record conjectures that have appeared since Gemoll's edition, and therefore are still hidden in periodicals. When a lexicographer conceives the critical portion of his task so seriously as this, one expects to find as the result an apparatus at once exhaustive and accurate, something after the model (shall we say?) of Ludwig's edition of the Hymn to Hermes. This is I regret to say far from being the case.

The faults of this index may be classified

as follows. (1) Relying upon Abel, Gehring has received into his apparatus a vast number of purely useless variants. Where the line is to be drawn in receiving variants in an edition, may be disputed; every one will agree that in a *lexicon*, which is intended to be a permanent storehouse of language, only such variants need recording as seriously affect the title of a particular word to be considered part of the author's vocabulary. Graphical, phonetic and accidental variants are out of place. But in Gehring we have innumerable annotations of this style: ἄγγελος ἐστίν D ἄγγελος ἐστίν E, (ἀγνόν) ἀγνόν D, (ἀγχιθεοὶ δὲ) ἀγχιθεοὶ δὲ D ἀγχιθεοὶ δὲ L, (ἀλλ' ἄγε) ἀλλ' ἄγε M, (ἄγων) ἄγων N, (ἀρ) ἀρ DL or ἀρ' L or ἀρ M repeated 32 times on p. 26. In short a good tenth of the footnotes are taken up with this inert rubbish. (2) Relying too much on his editors (and especially on Abel) and too little on his own judgment, Gehring has received into his text a great number of conjectures that are far from certain. Again I must point out the distinction between an edition and a *lexicon*. Into the latter nothing should be received but what is absolutely sound; and where the MSS. offer a manifest corruption on which there are several equally plausible conjectures it is surely better that the corruption should stand in the text *talē quālē* and a choice of conjectures be given in the margin than that one conjecture should be picked out as the author's word, and the rest together with the corruption lie lost in the note. (3) By his use of Abel's edition, Gehring has been led to omit the readings of the 'Paris' clan of MSS. These are intrinsically as valuable as the others, and their neglect is admitted to be a defect of Abel's eccentric recension. Further Gehring, although he quotes Goodwin's edition, has neglected the new critical material contained therein, especially II; and although his preface is dated January 1895 he is unaware of the readings of the Madrid MS. published by Bethe (*Hermes* 1893, p. 522 sq.).

(4) Lastly, given all these mistakes of principle, Gehring, partly by a misguided method of reference and partly from pure blundering, conveys in many places an entirely wrong idea of the relation of particular variants and their respective authorities.

I proceed to substantiate these last three charges by a list of the errors I have noticed, in alphabetical order. P. 1 After *ἀώ* should come *ἀβλαβέως* Merc. 83; the conjectures *ἀβλαύτοις*, *ἀσφαλέως*, *εὐλαβέως* are uncertain, G. has inserted the last. P. 2 *Ἀγνή*; M's variant *ἀγνή*, more important than most recorded by G. is omitted. P. 3 *ἄ[γος]*; M's reading according to Mr. Goodwin is *σέβας* not *ἄχος*; *ἄγος* is Valekenār's conjecture, not Baumeister's. P. 4 *Ἀγχοτάτω* 'h. Apoll. [18]' and n. *ἄγχοτάτω* Abel. Not only Abel but all MSS. and editors agree here. I may notice that G. supplies no interpretation of his use of square brackets or spaced type. P. 6 *Ἀθίναρος*; omit *ἀθανάτων* Cer. 270; the gen. Stoll's conjecture is baseless; restore *ἀθανάτοις* among the datives. The means of healing this line are indicated by Prof. Tyrrell, *Hermathena* xx. p. 38, viz. *ἀθανάτοις θηροῖσι τ' ὄνειαρ κάρμα (= καὶ ἄρμα) τέτυκται*. P. 10 *Αἰρέω*; take out *ἔλοιτο* Cer. 328 and insert the reference on p. 11 under *ἐλίσθαι*; *ἐλίσθαι* the MS. reading is not necessarily to give way to the analogy of 445. P. 13 *Ἀλεγύνω*; transfer the ref. Merc. 85 to *Ἀλείων*, Windisch's (not Ludwig's) conj. *ἀλεγύνων* being uncertain; in note 5 for *ἀλείων* L read *ἀλείων* codd. Ib. note 6; add *ἀλείων* Par. P. 16 *Ἀλωῆς*; *dele* Merc. 87 (the gen., though we are not told it, being Gemoll's untenable conjecture), rewrite note 6 *καμὼν ἀνὰ γοννὸν ἀλωῆς* Gemoll] *δέμων ἀνθοῦσαν ἀλωήν* M *δόμων αἰθουσαν* codd. cett. P. 17 *Ἀμαρύνθω*; rewrite note 2 *ἄμ' ἐρενθεῖ* ELII¹ marg. LII *ἄμ' ἐρεχθεῖ* M *ἀμαρύνθω* om. Par. The fact that Schneidewin and others altered this into the acc. is not worth recording. Ib. † *ἀμχανέων*; *dele* †. P. 18 *Ἀμφίς*; add Apoll. 417 where Pierson's *αἰθίς* is now unnecessarily read. (This restitution was made in Goodwin's edition.) *dele* the same ref. under *αἰτίς* p. 32. P. 19 *Ἀνά*; *dele* the ref. Merc. 87 where it is only Gemoll's (unmentioned) conjecture; rewrite the note as on *Ἀλωῆς* p. 16. P. 21 *Ἀρθεμ'*(a); insert Par.'s variant *ἐνθεμ'*. P. 22 *Ἀρτάω*; G. omits, as he does with exasperating frequency, to state that *ἀντῆς*, which he properly puts in his text, is Gemoll's conjecture; in the note insert

¹ = Matritensis.

'marg.' after EL. Ib. *Ἀντρον*; om. the ref. Merc. 6 where the acc. can be perfectly well construed. P. 23 *Ἀοιδή*; the note should state that *δοιδῆς* Apoll. 20 is Ilgen's alteration for the MS. *ᾠδῆς*; the rest of the note, as of many, is irrelevant. Ib. *dele* n. 10; the stopping of the line does not affect the vocabulary. P. 24 *Ἀπαστος*; add the ref. Merc. 168 where it is given by LII and many of Par. and printed by Ludwig. P. 32 *Αἰτίκα*; *dele* 'h. Ven. 174' where *αἰτίκα*, though G. gives no warning of it, is merely Gemoll's conjecture; *ἄρα* the MS. reading is rightly registered under *Ἀρα* p. 26, but in note 4 there for DELM read codd. P. 34 † *αὐτοτροπήσας* (as G. properly prints); in the note add Tyrrell's *αὐτοπορήσας* (*Hermathena* xx. p. 43), the only tolerable conjecture yet made on the passage. Ib. *Ἀφνειόν*; add † *ἀφνειόν* Merc. 473, and p. 174 *dele* *πανομφαῖον*, Hermann's brilliant but baseless conjecture (not ascribed to its author). P. 36 *Βαίρω*; *dele* *ἐπέβη* h. Cer. 211, Voss's improbable conjecture for *ἐνεκεν*; the latter should be inserted in its place. P. 38 *Βουκολέω*; here again G. unaccountably omits to mention that his *βουκολέειν* Merc. 167 is no better than Gemoll's conjecture, and that further Ludwig's *βουκολέων* is nearer to *βουλεύων* which the note correctly gives as the MS. reading. Ib. note 3, *dele* 'praeter M.' P. 40 *βρόμος*; to h. xiii. 3 add the variant *τρόμος* DEIT. P. 41 *Γάρ*; *dele* Merc. 472, Kämmerer's conj. is most improbable; *παρά* should be restored to its place p. 174. P. 42 n. 12; *dele* *νῦστα γεγάσμια* Baumeister (a mere misprint in Baum.). P. 43 note 5; *dele* the note and read *γενοίμην* Par. γ *ερόιμην* DELIT (def. M.). P. 44 *Γλανκώπις*; *dele* Apoll. 323 where *γλανκώπις* is Abel's needless conjecture, and restore *γλανκώπιδ'*. Ib. note 13; rewrite the note as above p. 16 n. 6; in the text remove Merc. 87 under *Γοννόν*; again there is no sign that the word is Gemoll's conjecture. P. 46 *Δαπέδον*; add Apoll. 523 *δάπεδον*, the reading of all MSS. but ET and the marg. of LII. Pp. 47-50; nearly the whole of the apparatus on these pp. is useless. P. 51 *Δίος*; *dele* n. 8; the reading of M does not affect *δίος*, it should have been (but is not) given as a variant on *ἐλεν*, under *Αἰρέω* p. 10. P. 52 *Δέσματ'*; rewrite n. 3 *δέσματ'* SK *δεσμά σ'* Par. *δεσμά τ'* cett. P. 53 n. 6 add Ludwig's conj. *ἦχι ἄδην*. P. 54, *dele* † *δημόν*; no MS. reads this in the text, and we may as well have our corruptions correct; *scr.* *δηρόν* with the necessary annotations. Ib. *Δηώ* Cer. 122; Fontein's conj. is hardly certain, at least a

full collection of the others should have been given. Ib. Διέκ; *dele* Merc. 271, a mere conj. of Stadtmüller's. P. 55 Δίδημι; again a conj. δίδεσθαι (Voss's) printed without warning as if orig.; in the note insert M after δεδέσθαι. Ib. Δίδωμι; Barnes' ἐπιδώσομαι Merc. 383 were better in a note and the corruptions ἐπιδέ(αι, εὐ)ομαι in the text. P. 57 † δοῦρα; *dele* the dagger, which is inexplicable, sim. p. 58 *dele* the dagger before ἀραιῆσι (under Δρύες); under 'Αραιῆσι p. 27 it does not appear. P. 60 Δωτίω; mention the Par. variant δωτίνω. Ib. n. 12 *dele* (!). P. 64 n. 21; correct from Goodwin's apparatus and make plain that πάρεστι is the reading of Par. P. 65 n. 1; correct from Goodwin (viz. ἐστιν M ἢ cett.). P. 70 Ἐλελίξω; again Gemoll's conjecture (ἐλελιγμίνω Merc. 306) in the text without warning. In the note *dele* (!) and for DEL *scr.* cett. P. 75 Ἐπαμοῖβτα, n. add that Wolf and Ludwich read ἐπαμοῖβμα. P. 79; *dele* ἐπιβρύχους Merc. 116 Barnes' violent conj. Ludwich's ὑποβρύχους is satisfactory. P. 82 n. 5; for DE read codd. P. 83; again Gemoll's invention (εὐθελός) in the text without warning; correct the note according to Goodwin's apparatus. P. 85; Ἐστέφανος; *dele* notes 9, 10, 11 and add the MS. variants on Ven. 176, h. V. 18. P. 87; ἔχμα is Ruhnken's conj. for αἰχμά of codd. Ib. Ἐχω; remove the ref. Merc. 497 to ἔχων, Matthiae's ἔχειν is not certain. P. 93, again Gemoll's child, ἡλιβάτοις, posing as the real stock; restore ἡλίβατοι (codd.) in text, and 'ἡλιβάτοις post Schneiderum Gemoll' in note. P. 95 Ἠπειρος; eject Reiz's monstrous ἡπειρον Apoll. 251, 291 and restore Εὐρώπην in its proper place: The geographer who uses this index builds on sand. P. 97 θαάσσεις; add θαάσσεις M. P. 98 n. 3; for θάμβαιεν Abel read θάμβαιεν Par. Ib. n. 12; for Gemoll read Ludwich. P. 99 Θείω; eject θείω h. Cer. 99 (φρίατι), and restore the MS. Παρθενίω φρ. in its proper place. The topographer is as badly off as the geographer. In the note Abel and M are mixed up. P. 101, θήρα Merc. 241 should be furnished with a dagger and separated from the cases of θήρ. The n. is inaccurate; read θήρα marg. ELII δὴ ῥα cett. P. 102 Θωός; on Ven. 67 add M's variant ῥίμφα. Ib. Θρώσκω; *dele* 'h. xviii. 22,' Köchly's conj. θορὼν for χορὼν is most improbable. P. 103 Θυμός; eject the ref. Merc. 457, and relegate the (unacknowledged) conj. to the notes; *dele* also notes 2 and 3. P. 104 Θυώ; Ap. 184 Pierson's very probable εἰωδέα for τεθνώδεα should be mentioned. P. 105 Ἴζω; καθίσειν again is Gemoll without warning, in the note

after καθίσσαι insert 'codd.', *dele* M. In note 3 for codex read 'M.' P. 106 Ἰθῶν; *dele* h. xxx. 15, Gemoll's (unacknowledged) conj. Note 15 for 'codices interpolati' read Par. P. 108 n. 7; for Abel read Thuc. P. 114, *dele* the heading κάμνω; Gemoll's καμών (acknowledged here) has nothing for it. P. 116, *dele* notes 5-18 as both inaccurate and unnecessary. P. 118 n. 10; for Abel read 'DII ed. pr.' P. 119 κηῶδει h. Cer. 13 (Ruhnken's conj., though this is not mentioned) is certainly not correct; the corruption κῶδης τ' should be in the text with an appropriate dagger. Tyrrell's κῶ[ζ]ῆδιστ' (Hermath. xx. p. 34) is the best conj. yet to hand. P. 120 Κλειώ; κλειών Merc. 427 is too uncertain a conj. to displace κραίων. P. 121 κνωδάω; again Gemoll in disguise! Restore the *corpus vile* κνώδαλον to the text, and let emenders rend him in the n. P. 122 n. 1, 2; for Abel read Baumeister. P. 125 Κροτάλων; mention Par.'s variant κροτάλη. P. 128 Κῦρω; Ven. 175, add variants from Goodwin's apparatus. P. 129 Λαόν; for (πολυπάμονα) read (πολυπείρονα); but there is no reason for quoting this epithet. P. 131 Λήγω; Hermann's λήξεε Cer. 352 is unlikely; restore παύσειε in its place. P. 132 Λούω; for ἔλουον read ἐλούεον; in the note *dele* ἐλούεον Abel. P. 138; under μέλω insert μέμηλας Merc. 437, as yet unexplained. I have not yet found under what letter G. records this word.¹ P. 138 n. 5; it is not made clear that φωνῆς γὰρ ἦκουσ' is the MS. reading, and μὲν γὰρ due to Voss. P. 139; the difficult word μέτασσα Merc. 125 should be recorded in its place.² P. 140 n. 13; for Abel read codd. P. 142 n. 7; the credit of μνωόμενος belongs to Bernard Martin, not to Wolf. P. 145; νεόλλουτος Merc. 241 should be inserted in its proper place. Correct n. 5 according to Goodwin's apparatus. *Dele* most of the notes on pp. 148, 149, 150. P. 149 Ὅ; n. 3 correct the statements about MSS. P. 150 n. 4; once more correct the absurd γεγάσμια. P. 151 Τώ; *dele* (!). P. 152; under τὸ include Merc. 507. Nearly all the notes on these pages are useless. P. 158; Bothe's ὀλοοῖσιν is too uncertain to stand in the text.

P. 163 n. 4. What appears to be the MS. reading is (of course) Gemoll's. Insert at all events M's real reading. P. 171 n. 7 *dele* the whole note, which is quite irrelevant to ταῦτα. P. 174 n. 14 is

¹ He records it under φαίνω, in the shape of Stadtmüller's inconceivable ἀνέφηνas, and then with no mention of the responsible party.

² G. puts it (p. 167) under Ὀστρί, with which it can have no possible connexion.

culpably misleading; for Baumeister, Abel read codd., and assign *παρ θεῶν* to its author. Ib. Παρδάλιες; add Par.'s variant πορδάλιες. P. 178 n. 2 needs an interpreter. P. 179 Περσεφόνηα; add the variants on this word. P. 180 ἀναπλήσας is Hermann's conj., ib. πύλασαι is Voss's. P. 181 n. 2 *dele* ἐκπεσε. P. 183 πόλις; *dele* (accus.), n. 6 add πόνος Par. P. 184 Πολυπάμονα; again, after an interval, Gemoll for Homer. In the n. for Baumeister, Abel read M. P. 185 n. 4 correct after Goodwin. Ib. Πορτιτρόφον; add Par.'s var. παντοτρόφον. P. 186 the disputed word ποτήσι Merc. 544 should find its place here. Ib. n. 5. Give Gemoll his due, viz. ὃν τέ ποτ' αὐτῇ; in the text *dele* the ref. Apoll. 317, for the conj. is quite baseless; restore τέκον under τίκτω. P. 187 *dele* the heading πρήθω, restore ἔμπνευσεν under πνέω and assign ἔπρησεν to its author. Ib. n. 9 is irrelevant. P. 189 περύγεσσι Merc. 544; add M's variant ποτήσι. P. 190 Πυκνόν; *dele* πύκν' h. Merc. 415; this conj. of Barnes is needless, Ludwig prints the MS. πῦρ. P. 191 *dele* the heading βάπτω; ἔρψεν Merc. 79 is one of Gemoll's rashest conjectures, and even that it is a conjecture we are not warned. In the note read ἔρψεν codd., the rest is irrelevant. P. 192 ῥήνεα (without mark) is due to Lobeck, followed by Gemoll; correct the note to ῥήναία codd. praeter S (ῥήναία). Note 11 *dele* (!); Abel is done out of his conj. by the second hand of Γ. P. 194 *dele* ῥόον, Gemoll's bad conj. (naturally printed as traditional); in the note for Baumeister, Abel read codd. Ib. Σεῶ; φὰς συνέσενε is due to ed. pr.; correct the note to 'φασὶν ἔσενε codd.' P. 197 n. 2 something is wrong here. P. 201 Τάχα; *dele* the ref. Ap. 431, τάχ' is a most idle conj. of Schneidewin's. Cf. Peppmüller, Philologus liii. p. 270. P. 205. Insert the important word τέρθρον Merc. 322; p. 115, where the alternative l. κάρηνα is recorded, n. 3 for Abel read MDLII. Ib. Τετραῖνω; *dele* τετρήνας Merc. 48, the MS. πετρήνας is sound. In the n. *dele* πετρήνας fort. cett. Ib. n. 12 add τελμησσόν Par. P. 206 Τεύχω; transfer the ref. Cer. 270 to τέτυκται; ἐτύχθη Ruhnken's conj. is quite improbable. Ib. n. 12 read ταῦγέτον codd. P. 209 Τίω; *dele* τετυμένοι and restore τετυμένος. Ib.

Τλῆναι; *del.* τλήσεται Ven. 253 Matthiae's bad conj. (not acknowledged) for χήσεται. Martin's χείσεται has received support from Tyrrell l.c. p. 33. P. 210 n. 14; add Par.'s reading δια, which (or δια) is very likely right. P. 212; the authority for θρέψαι Cer. 227 is not given: it is Hermann, but the word is taken bodily from Gemoll's text. P. 213 n. 1 after (sic) insert M. P. 214 n. 1 after Τυφάονα insert Par. Ib. ὕλη; *dele* the ref. Merc. 238; ὕλη, which is thus given as the original, is Matthiae's conj., but, like θρέψαι, stands in Gemoll's text. P. 217 Φαίνω; *dele* ἐφαίνετο and ἀνέφηνας for reasons already given. P. 218 φερειν-θέσιν printed as orig. belongs to Lobeck; correct the n. according to Goodwin. P. 219 Φημί; eject φάσθαι Matthiae's needless conj., Ven. 285. P. 220 n. 5 add φιλομειδέα Par. P. 222 φρέατι; *dele* (θείω) as above. P. 224 φωνέω; *dele* φωνών Merc. 315 which is implied to be orig.; Wolf conjectured it, but Gemoll (in his text) and Gehring vend it as Homer; the MSS. of course have φωνήν. P. 225 n. 7 add Par.'s variant χάρμα φέρων. P. 226 Χέω; προχέειν similarly stands here and in Gemoll's text as orig.; it is due to Barnes. Correct the note to 'προρέειν codd.' P. 228 n. 2 *dele* the n. as irrelevant; p. 30 under ἀτάλλω add ed. pr. as authority for ἀτάλλω. Ib. n. 3 is irrelevant. Ib. n. 10, 11, correct according to Goodwin. P. 227 n. 2 (under Ψ) correct 'ψαφαρότριχα Par. ψαφερότριχα DEHT.' P. 233 under ὥσπερ add the ref. Cer. 429 (ὥσπερ κρόκον, which appears under Hermann's ridiculous disguise of αἰπὴν δόλον, p. 57).¹

These I am afraid are not likely to be all the mistakes in this Index, but they are such as I have come across in using it, *e basta*. Some of them are due to Abel's eccentric method, and Gemoll's slipshod apparatus, but most must fall on the head of the editor. I repeat my remark nevertheless that the Index is useful—but useful to persons who are intimately acquainted with the text of the Hymns. New-comers will fare badly.

THOMAS W. ALLEN.

¹ And even so without acknowledgment; in the n. for codd. read cod.

PAPIAS' ASCRIPTION OF ORACLES TO ST. MATTHEW.

The Oracles ascribed to Matthew by Papias of Hierapolis, a contribution to the criticism of the New Testament. London: Longmans Green and Co. 1894. Pp. x. 274. 6s.

THE anonymous author of this book has written it with the object of defending a number of more or less novel theses in early Church history. They are all concerned directly or indirectly with that much discussed person Papias of Hierapolis.

The main (but by no means the only) propositions put forward are:

(1). That Papias lived and wrote in the last quarter of the first century, and not, as has been commonly supposed, in the first or second quarter of the second century.

(2). That the expression *κυριακὰ λόγια* means 'passages from the Old Testament about our Lord'; and that consequently what St. Matthew wrote was not a narrative of our Lord's life but a collection of Old Testament prophecies; while the well-known work of Papias was a commentary on the Old Testament and not a supplement to the New.

(3). That the document usually called the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* is not genuine.

We will deal with these propositions in succession.

(1). It is difficult quite to make out the positive arguments in favour of the first proposition. It is of course perfectly true that the evidence for the later date is not demonstrative; very few if any facts of history can be definitely proved. A balance of probability inclines to one or other view, and that critic becomes a guide to us whom we gradually discover to have a sound judgment in such matters. The date of Papias is that suggested by Eusebius, who had the work before him, and nothing in the character of the book would incline us to place it earlier. The argument on the other side as far as we can follow it may be stated as follows. If Irenaeus and Eusebius have wilfully deceived us;¹ if St.

¹ Since this was written Dr. Abbott's notes have appeared in the *Classical Review*. Even Dr. Abbott does not accuse Irenaeus of wilful dishonesty, although he considers him 'recklessly' inaccurate. On the 'notes' in question it may be remarked:

(1). That they are misleading in character. They profess to be correcting some inaccuracies in one special paper of Dr. Lightfoot, while really they are

John the Apostle died not later than the year 80; if the book called the First Epistle of St. John was written before the year 80; then it is possible to put the composition of Papias' work in the first century. Now all these propositions are to say the least hazardous. The theory of course that everything which is said in the second century writers about the Apostle John really applies to John the Presbyter is not novel. This is in fact just one of those cases where we have to estimate the balance of probability. There is a widespread and consistent and early tradition about the Apostle John. The only evidence even for the existence of John the Presbyter is an obscure and perhaps corrupt passage of Papias, with the speculations of

attacking an important position which he regularly maintained in all his writings.

(2). If Dr. Abbott had quoted the whole passage from Florinus there are few who would consider that the language did not justify Lightfoot's statement that Irenaeus claimed to be the pupil of Polycarp, and had ample means of knowing his opinions, or that of Lipsius who speaks of Polycarp as 'his ancient teacher.'

(3). That as the letter of Irenaeus was addressed to Florinus, whom he claims as a fellow-pupil, it would clearly have been impossible for him to be entirely incorrect or very much exaggerated in his statements.

(4). The suggestion that in *Refutation* iii. 3, 4 Irenaeus contrasts himself who had only seen Polycarp with others who had heard him is certainly incorrect. What he is doing is to collect independent testimony of his statement. 'You have not only my evidence although I have seen Polycarp, but that of others who have heard from him the statements on which I rely.'

(5). There does not seem to be any ground for thinking that Eusebius in *H. E.* v. 8 expresses any unfavourable opinion of Irenaeus, while his statement *H. E.* v. 20. 3 surely is not to be confined to mere carefulness as a scribe, but great care in the transmission of doctrine. Even in *H. E.* iii. 39 where he questions a statement of Irenaeus he does not condemn him personally.

(6). Dr. Abbott's conclusion is interesting: 'Surely the conclusion must be that either Irenaeus had no opportunities for hearing anything of spiritual value not already contained in the Gospels, or else that, if he heard anything, he was too young to understand and appreciate it.'

This statement exactly expresses the contention of Bishop Lightfoot and those who follow him. The relation of Polycarp to Irenaeus is held by the latter to prove that his own teaching was that of the Apostles and harmonized with the Gospels; and it is maintained at the present day that this relation is a guarantee for the continuity and harmony of Christian thought in the first and second centuries. Dr. Abbott admits just the point which he supposes himself to be criticizing.

a third century writer. Are we to prefer doubtful speculations to a very considerable amount of early evidence and assume that all our early witnesses were dishonest or mistaken?

But the strongest evidence against the early date of Papias which can be put in the form of an argument is this. Our anonymous author admits on the testimony of Eusebius that Papias made use of the First Epistle of St. John. Now if internal evidence is ever to have any weight the identity of authorship of the First Epistle and the Gospel must be accepted. There are no two books in the New Testament whose style and phraseology and thought show such marked resemblance. It may of course be the case that the Epistle was written a little earlier than the Gospel, but no long interval of time between them is possible. So that if our author's argument be valid the developed types of heresy and of doctrine contained in the Johannine writings must be put at an even earlier date than most orthodox critics had assigned for them.

(2). The second proposition is dependent upon the first. And it is a curious instance of an incorrect deduction from a perfectly true fact. Our author discovered that in Jewish writers and in the Early Christian writers the word *λόγια* is always applied to the O. T. scriptures and argued that therefore it must be in Papias. Now the argument has this much of validity: if Papias did write in the first century it would be difficult to believe that the word was used of the N. T. in any form, for while the N. T. was being written or when it had only just been written, it certainly was not considered 'Scripture.' The word *λόγια* was clearly used to mean something like *γραφαί*, a scripture, and how could it be used of any but the O. T. scriptures when there were no others in existence? The facts about the word are these. It was one of the terms used by Jewish writers of the O. T. scriptures, and as such it was used in the first century by Christians. When we reach the last quarter of the second century we find it used of the N. T.; by that time there was a N. T. canon. In the intermediate period the word is not common, but we find it applied rather to the words of the Lord than to the books containing them. This is shown by the instances quoted from Polycarp and Justin. That just corresponds with the traditional date

of Papias and gives a clear and consistent meaning to his words.

But the really weak point in the argument is that no evidence is brought forward of the use of *κυριακά* in the sense assigned to it: whereas the word has a very definite meaning which we can illustrate best by reference to the fragments of Dionysius of Corinth (Eus. iv. 23). In a few short fragments it is used twice, first in the well-known phrase *κυριακὴν ἡμέραν*, secondly in an expression which is an exact parallel to *κυριακὰ λόγια, τῶν κυριακῶν γραφῶν*. Here the meaning is clearly the N. T. scriptures and suggests a similar meaning for the phrase of Papias. The expression is really parallel to *τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου* (Polyc. *Phillip.* 7), *τὰ λόγια κυρίου* (Iren. i. praef. 1).

(3). The arguments in the appendix which deal with the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* are still more precarious. It is suggested that the false Pionius who was the writer of the life of Polycarp was also the forger of the Acts of Martyrdom. This position is quite untenable, and the adoption of it must seriously damage our respect for the critical judgment of our author. The Acts have the external support of Eusebius and existed in a separate collection of martyrdoms, the life was not known to him: the Acts have all the marks of an authentic document, the life is a collection of 'foolish miracles.' To put the other documents on the same level is the negation of all criticism.

The latter part of the book is devoted to an examination of Old Testament quotations in the Early Church, and the writer comes to the conclusion that there must have existed from a very early time collections of O. T. quotations made for controversial purposes. This general proposition is exceedingly probable; whether the details of his conclusions are valid we could not say without a careful examination of all the evidence.

This anonymous work is written in a pleasant and fair tone throughout. The author has some but not a very intimate acquaintance with the literature of the subject he is discussing. He is acute and often suggestive. There is much to be learnt even from errors; but we cannot feel that he has the solidity of judgment and the general grasp of church history to make him a safe guide; nor are his errors of a character to be very instructive.

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE 'SYSTEM' IN GREEK MUSIC.—
A SUGGESTION.

In his *Modes of Ancient Greek Music*, p. 139, Mr. Monro, speaking of the music found at Delphi in 1893, says, 'The general impression made by the diatonic parts of the melody is that of the key of C minor.' This is quite true: but it is the modern so-called 'harmonic' C minor scale; and this agrees with no 'mode' described by the ancients, or by mediaeval theorists.

I venture to think that the long description of the 'system' given by Aristides Quintilianus (Meibom), p. 15, 16, 17, read in conjunction with a careful analysis of the Delphic 'Hymn to Apollo,' will show that in classical times and probably later the *system*, and not only the *mode* (or octave), regulated the melody: while Mr. Monro's contention (p. 5), that the passages on which the usually accepted theory is based... 'point to the emergence in post-classical times of some new forms or tendencies of musical art,' is strongly supported by a similar analysis of the well-known 'Hymns of the Antonines,' and the Tralles hymn.

I propose therefore to quote the various

e.g. Phrygian chromatic trope.

Tetr. Meson				Tetr. Synemmenon			
Φ	Υ	Τ	Μ	Μ	Λ	Κ	Γ
β	μ	ο	β	β	μ	ο	α

The 'Hymn to Apollo' makes use of no complete scale or 'harmony': and although its musical characters for the most part belong to the Phrygian trope, yet they do not occur in scale order, while two of the signs are foreign to the Phrygian notation. But the melody appears to me to be founded on various small 'systems' such as are described by Aristides in the following extract, of which I offer a translation by Mr. A. W. Gundry, M.A., of Bradfield College, and myself.

Σύστημα δὲ ἐστὶ, τὸ ὑπὸ πλείονων ἢ δυοῖν διαστημάτων περιεχόμενον. τῶν δὲ συστημάτων διαφοραὶ, αἱ μὲν ὅμοιαι ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν διαστημάτων εἰρημέναις· αἱ δὲ πλείους, ὥς αἶδε. τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐστὶ συνεχῆ, ὥς τὰ διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς φθόγων· τὰ δ' ὑπερβατά, ὥς τὰ διὰ τῶν μὴ ἐφεξῆς μελωδούμενα.

'systems' on which I consider that the 'Hymn to Apollo' is built, and to apply to each the words of Aristides. I must first, however, explain some of the technical terms, which are probably unfamiliar to many of my readers.

The complete scale or *τρόπος* is constructed of a series of tetrachords: and in the chromatic and enharmonic genera, each sound has not only a name referring to its place in the scale, but also another name referring to its place in the tetrachord.

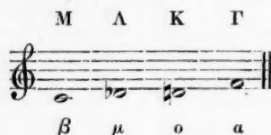
It will be convenient for my present purpose to use chiefly the latter nomenclature. The chromatic and enharmonic tetrachord consisted of a group of three sounds in succession close to one another, called the *πικρόν*, and of a fourth sound at the interval of a perfect fourth above the lowest sound of the *πικρόν*. The lowest sound of the *πικρόν* was called *βαρύπικνος*, the middle *μεσόπικνος*, the upper *ὀξύπικνος*. The highest note of the tetrachord, if it formed part of the next tetrachord, was called *βαρύπικνος*, but if it formed the concluding note of a scale, was *ἄπικνος*. The names of the individual sounds in each of my examples are shown by the letters β, μ, ο, α,

A system is that which is contained by several, or (only) two intervals.¹ But there are differences of systems, some of which are like those differences we enumerated

¹ The more natural translation would be 'A system is that which is contained by more than two intervals.' The passage is, however, corrupt, see Meibom, *Notae*, p. 225. Aristoxenus says, p. 15, τὸ δὲ σύστημα σύνθετόν τι νοητόν ἐκ πλείονων ἢ ἐνός διαστημάτων. One must conceive a system as being compounded of more than one interval. This is confirmed by Pseudo-Euclid, p. 1, and by Gaudentius, p. 5, who says ἀπλῶς γὰρ σύστημα ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκ πλείονων ἢ ἐνός διαστημάτων συγκείμενον διάστημα. Bacchius senior moreover, p. 2, says that a system must have more than two sounds (i.e. more than one interval). It seems pretty clear therefore that the smallest system had three sounds and two intervals. Westphal, *Aristoxenus*, p. 234, remarks: 'Also c, d, e, f, g, aber auch schon c, d, e, f, oder c, d, e, würden ein System sein.'

in connection with the intervals :¹ but the majority (of differences) are as follows : some systems are continuous, the sounds being placed in consecutive order : others are irregular, in which the melody does not proceed by consecutive sounds.

Ex. 1a. Phrygian chromatic trope. System of four consecutive sounds.



Here the sounds are placed in consecutive order, the interval K Γ being a simple interval according to Greek theory, as no sound occurs between these notes in the chromatic genus.² The following passages in the 'Hymns' appear to be founded on this system.

Ex. 1b.



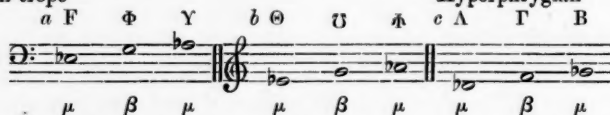
Ex. 1c.



2. Systems of three sounds 2 (two intervals).

Phrygian trope

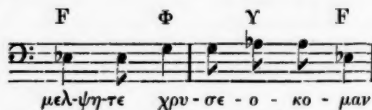
Hyperphrygian



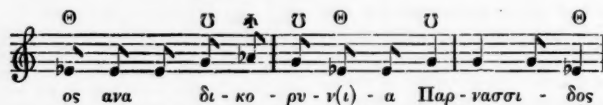
It will be observed that all the systems in Ex. 2 are composed of the succession mesopycnos, barypycnos, mesopycnos, the oxypycnos (or lichanos) being in each case omitted. Hence I believe myself justified in assuming that these three examples are 'irregular systems in which the melody does not proceed by consecutive sounds.' Pseudo-Euclid, p. 14, calls systems which are contained between mesopycna 'the second species of diatessaron.'

The following passages seem to be founded on Ex. 2a, b, c.

Ex. 2d.



Ex. 2e.



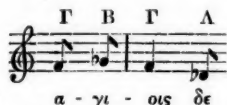
¹ See Aristides, p. 13, Pseudo-Euclid, p. 12, gives four differences of system as common with those of intervals, viz. difference of magnitude, of genus, of consonance and dissonance, of rational and irrational. Aristoxenus, p. 74, speaks of 'species' and 'scheme'

as two names referring to the same thing, viz. the arrangement of the intervals in a system. Unfortunately his description of the systems is lost.

² τὸ τριημιτόνιον ἐν μὲν χρώματι ἀσύνεθρον, Pseudo-Euclid, p. 9.

Ex. 2*b* is exactly an octave above Ex. 2*a*, and it is significant that the quotation 2*e* immediately follows 2*d* in the original. It would appear possible then that the Greeks, instead of repeating a melody at an octave higher than where it first occurs, as with us, repeated a *system* an octave higher: but one example is insufficient to do more than suggest without proving this point.¹

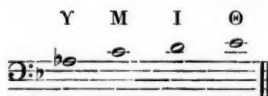
Ex. 2*f*.



The note B occurs only once; and the melody immediately after Ex. 2*f* goes into system 1*a*.

Ex. 3*a*. System of four sounds, not in consecutive order (pentachord).

Phrygian.



Here, again, there is no oxypycnos, the *lichanos Meson* being omitted, and I being the lowest note of the disjunct tetrachord.

Ex. 3*b*.



Φοι-οι-βον ω-δαισι μελ-ψητε

This long passage is carefully confined to the limits of Y and Θ: it is followed by system 2*a*, 2*b*, after which the melody returns to system 3*a* for four bars.

Aristides continues:—

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπλᾶ καθ' ἓνα τρόπον ἔκκεται· τὰ δὲ οὐχ ἀπλᾶ, ἀ κατὰ πλείονων τρόπων πλοκὴν γίνεται.

And some are simple, since they are set forth in one key; others are not simple, since they arise out of the combination of several keys.

All the examples I have given hitherto are simple, since they are each contained in one key. I think the following example is 'not simple' since it can be referred to no one key.

Ex. 4*a*.



Here again there is no oxypycnos.

¹ A change from one system to another is called 'metabole' of system, and the frequent allusions to it show that it must have played an important part in composition.

Ex. 4b.

Y O M A M O Y O M A M

Υ-λομ-πον - α - ρα - κιδ - ρ[α] - ται λι - γυ δε λω - το - ος βρε - μων

Syst. 1a.

A K A M M Y O M A M

α - ει ο - λαι - οισ μ[ε] - λε - σιν - ωι - δα - αν κρε - κει

ἢ τῷ τὰ μὲν εἶναι συνηγμένα, τὰ δὲ διεzeugμένα, τὰ δὲ κοινά. καὶ συνηγμένα μὲν ἔστιν, ὧν εἰς φθόγγος γίνεται κοινός. ἃ καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλα λέγεται. διεzeugμένα δὲ, ὧν εἰς φθόγγος¹ μέσος ἐμπίπτει, χωρίζων ἑκάτερον. ἃ καὶ παράλληλα καλεῖται, κοινὰ δὲ. τὰ ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ συναφήν ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ διάzeugξιν κείμενα.

Moreover some are conjunct, others disjunct and others common. And conjunct systems are those which have one of their sounds in common. These are also called reciprocal systems. But disjunct systems are those in which one sound occurs between them, separating the systems. These are also called parallel systems. And common systems are sometimes conjunct sometimes disjunct.

In the complete trope of two octaves, the two highest tetrachords belong only to the 'greater perfect' or 'disjunct' system, the conjunct tetrachord to the 'lesser perfect' or conjunct system,² while the two lowest tetrachords are common to both systems. I think the passage is also applicable to my examples. Thus Ex. 1a belongs entirely to the conjunct or lesser perfect system, Ex. 2a, b, to the disjunct or greater perfect, 2c is common to both; Ex. 3a is disjunct, while Ex. 4a is common.

ἔτι τῶν συστημάτων ἃ μὲν ἔστι τετράχορδα, ἃ ὑπὸ τεσσάρων φθόγγων κατὰ φύσιν κειμένων περιέχεται ἃ δὲ πεντάχορδα ἃ δὲ ὀκτάχορδα. τὸν δ' αὐτὸν ὅρον κατὰ τούτων νοητέον.

Moreover, of the systems, some are tetrachords, which are contained by four sounds placed in the natural order: others are pentachords, others octachords. And we must understand the same description as applying also to these.

Aristides here mentions tetrachords, pentachords and octachords as 'systems.' He omits the 'greater perfect' and 'lesser perfect' systems. Aristoxenus, p. 6, complains that Erastocles only describes the octave systems, whereas there are many others.

¹ Pseudo-Euclid in the parallel passage, p. 17, uses the word *τόνος*, which makes the sentence far more intelligible.

See Ptolemy, *Harmonics*, Book ii. ch. 4.

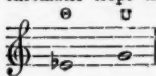
Pseudo-Euclid, p. 12, mentions the tritone (e.g. f, g, a, b), diapason, diapente, and diatessaron as different systems, and says that systems can be consonant or dissonant, according to whether their boundary sounds are consonant or dissonant. Thus the tritone will be a dissonant system. Again on p. 13 he says that dissonant systems are all those which are smaller than a diatessaron, and those which come between the several consonant systems.

It seems clear then that practically any combination of three or more sounds in scale order could be a system: but that the consonant systems of the 4th, 5th, octave, octave and 4th, and double octave, being the most important, are, as a rule, the only ones described in detail by Greek theorists.

With regard to the systems of three sounds, Ex. 2 formed by the omission of the oxyphonus, it would seem that in classical times musicians were in the habit of omitting notes in this way: for Plutarch tells us (Westphal's ed. p. 13, 14) that Olympus and Terpander, and those who imitated their style, omitted the notes *τρίτη* and *νήτη*³ as unsuitable to the *τρόπος σπονδαιακός*, although they used them in the instrumental accompaniment. It is only reasonable to conclude therefore that in other forms of compositions certain notes might be omitted, as in Ex. 2a, b, c, Ex. 3a.

Τούτων τὰ μὲν ἔστι σύμφωνα τὰ δὲ διάφωνα. σύμφωνα μὲν οὖν ἔστι τετράχορδα, τὰ ὑπὸ συμφώνων φθόγγων περιεχόμενα, πεντάχορδά τε καὶ ὀκτάχορδα. ἀσύμφωνα δὲ, τὰ μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντα.

³ It is evident from the context that only trite and nete diezeugmenon are referred to. In the Phrygian chromatic trope these notes would be respectively



τίς δὲ ἡ φθόγγων συμφωνία, προειρήκαμεν. γίνεται δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ ἑκθεὶς ἐξ ὁμοίων διαστημάτων, οἷον διέσεων, ἡμιτονίων, τόνων.

Some of these are consonant, the others dissonant. Consonant systems are tetrachords, which are contained between consonant sounds, also pentachords and octachords. Dissonant systems are those which are not thus formed. And what consonance of sounds is, we have already explained. Their exposition is by dissimilar intervals such as diesis, semitone, tone.

I have already discussed dissonant and consonant systems, when referring to Pseudo-Euclid. I have found no dissonant system in the Delphic hymns.

ἔστι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ κατ' εἶδος διαφορὰ· τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ ἐστῶτων, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ φερομένων φθόγγων περιέχεται.

There are also differences of species. Some are bounded by fixed, others by movable sounds.

The differences of octave species have formed the foundation of the whole mediaeval theory of Gregorian modes. But in classical times it would seem that the fourth and fifth and perhaps other systems had their difference of species. As Aristides says more about this later on I will leave its further discussion until I come to the passage in question.

Some are bounded by fixed, others by movable sounds. Ex. 1a is bounded by the fixed sounds *Mese* and *Nete synemmenon*. Exs. 2a, b, c, 3a, 4a, are all bounded by *mesoryana*, the lower movable sound.

καὶ ἂ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τέλει· ἂ δὲ οὐ· ἀτελὴ μὲν, τετράχρδον, πεντάχρδον· τέλειον δὲ, ὀκτάχρδον. ἐπεὶ πᾶς ὁ μετ' αὐτῶν φθόγγος ὁμοῖός ἐστι πάντως ἐνὶ τῶν προηγησαμένων.

And some of them are perfect, others not. Perfect is the octave, since each subsequent sound is altogether like one of those which go before.¹

This is a reference to the scale-systems pure and simple.

τὸ μὲν οὖν τετράχρδον καλεῖται διὰ τεσσάρων· συνέστηκε δὲ ἐκ τόνων δύο καὶ ἡμιτονίου. ἡμιτονίων ε'. διέσεων ι'. τὸ δὲ πεντάχρδον καλεῖται μὲν διὰ πέντε· σύγκεται δὲ ἐκ τόνων τριῶν ἡμίσεος. ἡμιτονίων ζ' διέσεων ιδ'. τὸ δὲ δι' ὀκτὼ καλεῖται μὲν διὰ πασῶν διατίθεται δὲ ἐκ τόνων σ'. ἡμιτονίων ιβ'. διέσεων κδ'.

The tetrachord is called diatessaron. It consists of two tones and a semitone: or five semitones, or ten dieses. The pentachord is called diapente. It contains three and a half

¹ I.e. the sounds of the upper octave severally coincide with those of the lower octave.

tones; seven semitones or fourteen dieses. But the diaocto system is called diapason, and consists of six tones, twelve semitones, twenty-four dieses.

This is of course according to the Aristoxenian division, as devised for the practical purposes of musical art. The Pythagoreans did not accept this rough and ready division, but expounded a mathematical theory of the scale which was utterly inadequate for high developments of the art of music.²

ἐν τῶν ὧν συστημάτων ἂ μὲν ἐστὶ πεντά, ἂ δὲ ἀράδι.

Moreover, of all systems, some are condensed, others extended.

The enharmonic and chromatic tetrachords are condensed systems, the diatonic extended.

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμετάβολα τὰ μίαν ἔχοντα μέσην· τὰ δὲ μεταβαλλόμενα, τὰ πλείους ἔχοντα μέσας.

And some are without modulation, having only one mese: others are modulatory, having several meses.

Mese appears to have held as important a place in Greek music as the modern keynote. Aristotle, in his nineteenth problem, informs us that in songs which are well composed the mese is often used: and that composers if they go far from that note promptly return to it. The mese of Exs. 1a, 2a, b, 3a is M, and we find in the best preserved of the Delphic fragments that this note largely preponderates over all the others, being used 48 times in the 213 notes. The next below this in number is the Hyperphrygian mese Γ, which occurs 25 times.

Ex. 4a would appear to be a system 'having several meses' (i.e. more than one). It seems to belong partly to the Phrygian and partly to the Dorian trope: but a difficulty, which in our present state of

² The Pythagoreans and Aristoxenians were the ancient representatives of two opposing sects of musicians, which continued all through the middle ages, exist now, and always will exist. The question between them is not in reality what is the truth in musical matters, but what is most congenial to the individual temperament and brain-power of each musician. Music has its mathematical and its emotional side: and each individual will incline to the Pythagorean, the scientific side, or the Aristoxenian, the artistic, emotional, empirical side, according to his temperament. The scientific and empirical elements find their natural meeting-ground in instruments of fixed pitch, such as the organ and piano, in the tuning of which a compromise has to be effected between mathematical precision and empiricism. Our Universities now demand of candidates for Musical Degrees a knowledge of the chief features of both these opposing sides of music; but the double knowledge is not naturally cultivated by the same individual.

knowledge cannot be explained, arises from the fact that the Dorian mese II does not occur in the Hymns.

καὶ τὰ μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς φθόγγων· τὰ δὲ δι' ὑπερβατῶν μελωδεῖται.

And some are sung by successive sounds: others by sounds which are not successive. That is to say, some systems are composed of sounds in scale order, others of sounds not in scale order. The first kind of system seems to occur in Ex. 1a, 2a, b, c, the second in Ex. 3a, 4a.

σχήματα δ' αὐτῶν ποικίλα ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν διαστημάτων ἡγεμονίας, ἣ ποίας τάξεως θεωρούμενα. ἡ πρῶτον ἐστὶν ἡμιτόνιον, ἡ δεύτερον, ἡ τρίτον, ἡ ὀκτοστονοῦν.

And the schemes of the systems vary, according to the disposition of the intervals, or being considered as to their arrangement. For either the first interval is a semitone, or the second, or the third, or one of them. Instances of each will be found in my examples.

τετράχορδα μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐκάστῳ τόνῳ τυγχάνει κατὰ διαίρεσιν θεωρούμενα ἐ· ὑπατῶν, μέσων, συνημμένων, διεzeugμένων, ὑπερβολαίων. πεντάχορδα δὲ σύμφωνα τρία· μέσων, συνημμένων, διεzeugμένων. ὀκτάχορδα δὲ δύο· συνημμένων τε καὶ διεzeugμένων. εἶδη δὲ αὐτῶν πλείονα, καθ' ἐκάστον φθόγγον παραύξησιν λαμβανόμενα. παρὰ μέντοι τοῖς παλαιοῖς τὸ μὲν διὰ τεσσάρων ἐκαλεῖτο συλλαβή, τὸ δὲ διὰ πέντε, διοξεία. τὸ δὲ διὰ πασῶν, ἁρμονία. ὃ καὶ ποικίλων κατ' εἶδος ὀνομάτων τετυχέει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ὑπάτης ὑπατῶν ἐκαλεῖτο μίξο-λύδιον. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ παρυπάτης, λύδιον. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ διατόνου, φρύγιον. τὸ δ' ἀπὸ μέσων ὑπάτης, δώριον. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ παρυπάτης, ὑπολύδιον. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ διατόνου, ὑποφρύγιον. τὸ δ' ἀπὸ μέσης, ὑποδώριον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου φανερόν, ὡς καὶ ταῦτ' ὑποθεμένοις σημείων πρῶτον, ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ δυνάμει φθόγγον κατονομαζόμενον, ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐφεξῆς φθόγγων ἀκολουθίας τὴν τῆς ἁρμονίας ποιότητα φανεράν γενέσθαι συμβαίνει. περὶ μὲν οὖν συστημάτων, ἃ καὶ ἀρχαῖς οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἡθῶν ἐκάλουν, ἀρκέτω ταῦτα.

In each key the tetrachords occur to the number of five, considered according to the (proper) division: viz. (the tetrachord) of the hypates, the meses, the conjuncts, the disjuncts, the hyperbolaia. There are three consonant pentachords, viz. of the meses, the conjuncts and disjuncts. Two octachords, conjunct and disjunct. And the species of these systems are various, according to how they are built

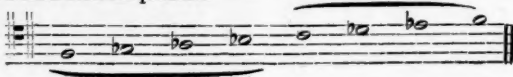
up from each (commencing) sound. The ancients called the diatessaron syllable, the diapente dioxeia, and the diapason harmony: and names were given (to the last) according to the species. That commencing on hypate hypaton (B, in modern notation) was called Mixolydian: that on parhypate (C) Lydian; that on diatonos (D) Phrygian; that on hypate meson (E) Dorian; that on parhypate (Meson) (F) Hypolydian; that on diatonos (Meson) (G) Hypophrygian; that on Mese, (A) Hypodorian.

From this it is manifest how, if the same note is used and called by different names (in several harmonies) according to its power with regard to the commencing note, the sequence of sounds placed in order will make the quality of the harmony manifest. This is sufficient concerning the systems, which the ancients also called principles of character.

I think it is not going too far if we imagine that Aristides and other writers consider the octaves commencing on the various notes of the fundamental scales merely as models of those which arise in one particular octave (F to F) by the application of the various tonoi. By adding to the octave F to F the flats proper to the various tonoi, it will be found that all the 'harmonies' described above are to be produced in this one octave:¹ and it seems very possible that the strings of the lyre, while keeping within the octave FF, were variously tuned according to the requirements of each particular tonos. This important question however cannot be discussed here.

My object in this paper is to suggest that not only the harmony or octave species, but the various forms of tetrachord, pentachord, etc., were, in classical times, used as the basis of musical compositions: and that in later times the octave became the sole system used for this purpose, as we know was the case in Gregorian music. The three Hymns of the Antonines are all in the Lydian tonos; and their relationship to the octave species is as follows: the Hymn to the Muse is contained in the compass EFGAB₇CDEF, that is, the Lydian octave plus one note below; the Hymn to Helios is in the Lydian octave (F to F), the Hymn to Nemesis in the Lydian octave plus one note (G) above. I think then that Mr.

¹ E.g. to the octave F to F (white keys of the piano) add the five flats proper to the Dorian key (B flat minor) and the Dorian octave is produced



Monro's suggestion of the 'emergence in post-classical times of some new forms or tendencies of music' is quite justified if these new forms and tendencies are taken to be the reduction of the number of systems used in composition to that of the octave, to the exclusion of 4ths, 5ths, etc.

Musicians have always required definite melodic models on which to base their compositions; just as a poet requires to keep his ideas within definite limits, an orator to keep to his subject, an architect to his plans. Thus, the Southern Indians have from time immemorial based their melodies on 'ragas,' the raga being a kind of formula which is more or less closely adhered to throughout the melody:¹ the composers of Gregorian music worked within definite limits round a 'dominant'; the early contrapuntists based their works on Gregorian melodies, or secular songs: the Elizabethan instrumental composers wrote endless variations on short tunes: the fugue is definitely based on a subject of a few notes. The simplest ballad repeats one tune many times according to the number of stanzas: and every great composer has been obliged to base his larger instrumental works on a few short well-defined subjects. The modern rules as to tonality in composition arise from the same necessity of a clear and definite scheme upon which to work: and I cannot help thinking that the 'system' may have played much the same part in Greek music as the various means I have just mentioned in the music of other races and ages for the attainment of definiteness and conciseness.

Since the above was written I have, through the courtesy of MM. H. Weil and T. Reinach, been able to see the latest Hymn found at Delphi. It is unfortunately in a far more dilapidated condition than the specimens found in 1893; but such short pieces of consecutive melody as it has been possible to translate (scarcely 3 bars without a break) seem to be founded on the same basis as I have endeavoured to suggest, i.e. short portions within more or less well-defined limits which possibly form 'systems' of various kinds: and the systems are not necessarily octaves or 'modes.'

C. F. ABDEY WILLIAMS.

¹ See Day's *Music of Southern India*.

THE CENTRAL GROUP OF THE EAST FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON PEPLOS OR στρωμνή?

I AM glad that my paper in the *Classical Review* has called forth an interesting rejoinder from Dr. Furtwängler (June 1895, p. 269). Professor Curtius's theory, which it surprised me that he left unnoted in the English edition of his book, he now discusses in full. I have carefully weighed Dr. Furtwängler's arguments, but still remain unconvinced. The point at issue is this. Dr. Furtwängler states that in the Magnesia inscription the *στρωμνῆ* must be taken as complete 'Lectisternia'—not, as Curtius takes them, as carpets; *στρωμνῆ* he holds must mean a couch, never a carpet. He goes further; the *στιβάδες* of the inscriptions also means couches, not things strewn on the ground; carpets for floors have no place in Greek culture, because the Greeks were not in the habit of sitting or reclining on the ground. This surprises me. The primary meaning of *στιβάς* is surely a collection of leaves, boughs or rushes, whether strewn loose or packed together as a bed: like many another word it took on other connotations with advancing civilization, but down to New Testament days it kept its primary sense, as is clearly seen in S. Mark xi. 8 πολλοὶ δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἔστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἄλλοι δὲ στοιβάδας ἔκοπτον ἐκ τῶν δένδρων καὶ ἐστρώνον εἰς τὴν ὁδόν.

In the Iobacchoi inscription (*Athen. Mitt.* xix. 248, mention is made of the feast of the *στιβάς*, and Dr. Wide comments as follows, p. 272, *Στιβάς* ist eigentlich dasselbe wie Streu oder ein einfaches Lager von Blättern, Schill und dgl. In dieser Bedeutung wird es in Kriegesschilderungen (Aristoph. *Frieden*, 348, Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1, 16, Polyb. v. 48, 4) gebraucht so wie in der Beschreibung gewisser Feste wo die Theilnehmer auf solchen *στιβάδες* lagerten (Aristoph. *Plutos* 663, Athen. iv. 138 f. 140 f.). The account of a 'κοπία' in Athenaeus is instructive. 'Ἐπὶ δὲ κοπίζωσι πρῶτον μὲν δὴ σκηνὰς ποιοῦνται παρὰ τὸν θεόν, ἐν δὲ ταύταις *στιβάδας* ἐξ ὕλης ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων δάπιδας ὑποστρωνίσουσιν, ἐφ' αἷς τοὺς κατακλιθέντας εὐωχοῦσιν. Similarly at a feast of Dionysos in the Kerameikos (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* ii. 3) citizens and strangers alike were feasted lying upon *στιβάδες* of ivy (ἀστροὺς ὁμοίως καὶ ξένους κατακειμένους ἐπὶ *στιβάδων* κίτρου). In commenting on this same Iobacchoi inscription, Professor Ernst Maass (*Orpheus* p. 53) says pertinently, 'Und nun gewinnt

wohl auch die Opferstreu (*σπιβάς*) ihren eigentlichen Sinn zurück; sie gehört nach Oldenberg's Ausführungen schon zum Indogermanischen Ritual der Theoxenien oder Lectisternien und war bestimmt den einkehrenden Göttern als Sitzstätte zu dienen. He then goes on to quote Herod. i. 132, where the *σπιβάς* of the Persians is described: when the sacrificer has cut the victim into small pieces and boiled the flesh he strews a bed of tender grass, generally trefoil, and then lays all the flesh upon it. The *σπιβάς* was, I conceive, primarily loose grass or leaves, then a bed made of these on the ground for sleeping or for eating, next perhaps a mattress loosely stuffed, and finally a regular raised couch and a festival at which either the primitive strewn bed or the later raised couch was used. Long after raised couches were in use in ordinary civilized life the primitive strewn couch would be the lot of the soldier on campaign &c., and—here is the important point—was retained as a traditional usage in ritual, just as oxen drew the carriages in certain ritual processions long after horses were used in daily life. Of this ritual use of the *σπιβάς* ἐξ ὧλης the Athenaeus passage is sufficient evidence, and more, this passage distinctly states that on the *σπιβάδας δάπιδας ὑποστρώνονσι*, a clear instance surely of carpets in use for reclining at a feast. Such a feast as 'κοπία' was I believe the primitive theoxenia of the Panathenaica. That the gods are seated on diphroi does not for a moment disturb me. As civilization advances all the appurtenances of a higher civilization are naturally added to the furniture of the gods. Moreover the feast has not yet begun, there is no indication of tables set or food ready, the gods are seated waiting, the *στρώνη* is as yet unspread. That *στρώνη* I still maintain is handed by the boy to the priest.

JANE E. HARRISON.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GERMANY.

Trèves.—A mosaic pavement has been found, with numerous figures and inscriptions. The centre is occupied by a Medusa, and at each of the four corners is a quadriga with a victorious charioteer, gorgeously attired, crowned, and holding a palm in his hand. Each figure has a name inscribed below, showing that the scene is not ideal, but taken from real life; the four are named Fortunatus, Superstes, Philinus, and Euprepes. In the course of repairs to the Cathedral two Roman inscriptions were found

in one of the western towers; one runs: *MODESTINIANA(e) · TASCILLVS · TREVER · F (aciendum) c(uravit)*.¹

ITALY.

Vetulonia.—Excavations undertaken in the course of 1894 have yielded various interesting results. Among the finds are numerous Etruscan and Roman coins, the latest a denarius of T. Claudius, 75 B.C.; two bronze statuettes of an ordinary Etruscan type, representing Silvanus or Lares; an interesting miniature bronze chariot; and a sandstone stèle with a long Etruscan inscription. The chariot had evidently been attached to a necklace; it is not of the ordinary type of the fictile bigae, but probably represents the original type of *carpentum* used by the Etruscan or Roman *Lucumo*. It consists of a flat board and two wheels, on which is a *bisellium* for two persons, as described in Livy i. 34. The stèle is a very important object; on it is incised the figure of a warrior marching, with helmet, shield, and axe, of a very archaic type. The axe appears to suggest an Asiatic origin for this monument, as do one or two other details, and this may furnish a new argument for the Oriental origin of the Etruscans. The inscription contains the name *Aules*.²

Sezze (=Setium, in Latium). A new *cippus milliarius* has been found here from the Appian Way. It bears the name of Trajan and the distance xliii. miles. The place indicated was near Appii Forum, and the last milestone before the part of the way which was traversed by boat through the Pontine marshes (cf. Horace, *Sat.* i. 5), up to the time of Nerva and Trajan who laid down a causeway of stone. This stone may be dated from the inscription A.D. 107.³

Trasacco (in the ancient Latium, N.E. of Rome). A small bronze object has been found here in the form of a ram's head, cast hollow but only modelled on the left side; it is inscribed: T. MAXIVS. T. F. F. HOSPEB T. STAIODIVS. N (umerii). F. It appears to have served as a *tessera hospitalis*, and dates about 200 B.C. The word *hospes* here stands in the double signification of giver and receiver of hospitality. Several passages in Roman literature remind us of this custom of two persons pledging themselves to mutual hospitality, e.g. Plaut. *Cist.* ii. 1, 36, *Poen.* v. 2, 87, and see also Marquardt, *Privat-Leben d. Römer*, p. 193.²

Civita Lavinia. A fragment of a cup has been found with the votive inscription VESTA ROCOVO. Ten similar examples are known (see Jordan in *Ann. dell. Inst.* 1884, p. 5 and Ritschl, *Prisc. Latin. Monum.* pls. 10, 11), each with a different name. An archaic antefix has also been found, with well-preserved colouring, similar to those excavated by Lord Savile, now in the Etruscan Saloon of the British Museum.²

GREECE.

Eleusis.—A very important tomb as regards the variety and richness of the contents has been recently discovered. Round the skeleton of a woman buried in it (probably a priestess) were numerous objects of female ornament, including very finely executed earrings with amber globules, brooches in bronze and iron, many rings in gold and silver, and bronze bracelets; also seventy vases of various forms, three Egyptian scarabæi, and a statuette of Isis in ivory. These last point to a relation between the Eleusinian mysteries and Egypt, as has been already suggested by Foucart.³

¹ *Athenaeum*, 12 Oct.

² *Notizie dei Lincei*, Jan.-Mar. 1895.

³ *Academy*, 5 Oct.

EGYPT.

Alexandria.—Dr. Botti's excavations near Pompey's Pillar have resulted in an important discovery, viz. the site of the Serapeum, where the last of the great libraries was preserved. It is the first fixed point gained in the recovery of the ancient topography of Alexandria. An elaborate account of his researches has been given by Dr. Botti in a memoir

on *L'Acropole d'Alexandrie et le Serapeum*, with a plan. Numerous inscriptions were found, and a few tombs, also long subterranean passages under the site of the ancient building.⁴

H. B. WALTERS.

⁴ *Academy*, 21 Sept.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik. Part 4. 1895.

Die Lebenszeit des Andronikos von Rhodos, F. Susemihl. A criticism of Gercke's art s.v. in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*. A. lived about 125–50 B.C., probably earlier than later. His teaching at Athens must be put later than 86 B.C., when first the schools recovered after Sulla's plundering of the city. *Observationum et lectionum variarum specimen*, L. Rademacher. These are very miscellaneous, ranging over the following Greek authors: Euripides, Plato, Thucydides, the Attic orators, Diodorus, Strabo, Plutarch, Arrian, Lucian, Athenaeus and Philostratus. *Die definition des ἐν in Platon's Sophistes*, O. Apelt. A reply, in six divisions, to a criticism of Zeller upon the writer's previous interpretation of a passage in the *Sophist* (247 E) two years and a half ago (*N. Jahrb. f. Phil.* 1892, pp. 529 f.). *Über die semeiotik des Heliodoros*, C. Conradt. *Noch einmal redux und nicht redux bei Plautus*, A. Fleckeisen. Maintains in opposition to Seyffert (in *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, 1894, vol. 80, p. 255) that in Capt. 923 and Rud. 909 we must read *reducem*. *Die griechischen und römischen Quellen der Institutiones des Priscianus*, O. Froehde. P. appears to have followed one source as a foundation, viz. Apollonius Dyscolus or Flavius Caper, but on special points to have had recourse to others also, such as Probus of Berytus and the elder Pliny.

Parts 5 and 6.

Die überlieferte Gliederung der tragikerfragmente des papyrus Weil und der aufbau der Choephoren und Phoinissen, C. Conradt. These are certain fragments of Euripides and of the Carians of Aeschylus. *Die entstehung des gifthonigs und des schlangengiftes nach antiken volksglauben*, W. H. Roscher. There is no doubt that the poisonous honey mentioned by the ancients (e.g. Xen. *Anab.* iv. 8, 20) came from poisonous plants, and that snakes derived their poison from the same source (see Hom. *Il.* x. 93 foll.). Hence in Suidas s.v. ἀκρίαιος τὸ δὲ μέλι... ἀπὸ ἐπικερῶν συμπεφορισμένον we must insert *τοῦ μῆλιος* or some similar word after ἐπικερῶν. *Die elemente des astronomischen mythus von Aigokeros (Capricornus)*, W. H. Roscher. Distinguishes the original and the Alexandrian elements in this myth. *Zu Xenophons Hellenika* (iv. 8, 24), G. Friedrich. Defends the genuineness of the text against F. Reuss [see *Class. Rev.* sup. p. 239a]. *Noch einmal die gliederung des Platonischen dialog Gorgias*, C. Schirchitz. *Studien zu Antigonos von Karystos*, I., R. Nebert. Treats, in this first part, of the contents of the *ιστορίων παραδόξων συναγωγή*. *Das lebensalter des jüngern Kyros*, C. Büniger. Plutarch (*Artax.* 2) makes Cyrus much too young. The date of his birth is 440 B.C. at

latest. *Das gebrauch der erzählenden zeitformen bei Ailianos*, P. Thouvenin. This is translated from the French. The uses of the narrative tense-forms in Aelian markedly resemble those in Polybius. The imperfect and aorist are here treated in detail, then the historical present and the pluperfect. Next comes a review of Hilberg's *Die gesetzte der wortstellung im pentameter des Ovid*, H. Gilbert. A book of great merit and the first to treat the subject systematically [see rev. by Prof. Ellis in *Class. Rev.* sup. p. 157]. *Cicero de republica* (ii. § 39) und die *Servianische centurienordnung*, W. Soltau. An adverse criticism of Mommsen's view of this difficult subject as given in his *röm. staatsrecht* iii. 245 foll. The reform of the centuries must be placed after the time when the Servian arrangement by maniples was rejected and the *comitia centuriata* took the place of the *exercitus centuriatus*. *Zu Tacitus* (Ann. i. 64), K. Hachtmann. Suggests *inter undas* for *inter undas*. *Zu Vergilius Aeneis* (ii. 62), P. R. Müller. For *versare dolos* suggests *perstare dolo*, the best MSS. have *dolo*. A review of Holder and Keller's *scholia antiqua in Q. Horatium Flaccum*, vol. i. *Pomponii Porphyrii commentum*, P. Wessner [see notice by T. E. Page in *Class. Rev.* sup. p. 129]. *Zu Ciceros briefen an Atticus* (v. 4, 4), W. Sternkopf. Reads *dum ades* (for *acta et*), *rumores vel etiam si qua certa habes de Caesare expecto*.

Mnemosyne, N. S. Vol. xxiii. Part 3. 1895.

Nautica, S. A. Naber. An interesting dissertation dealing with many disputed points in connexion with ancient ships, such as the length, breadth, and 'tonnage' of the trireme, length of the oars, the arrangement of the rowers; also the meaning of the words *τρίηρης*, *ἀσκάματα* and others. *ὑπὲρσιον* is interpreted not = *culcita*, but as 'sacculus, in quo omnes suas reculas nauta secum portat.' In Acts 27, 17 it is proposed to read *ἢ ἀπαντες βοελας ἐχρῶντο ὑποζωννύσας*, omitting *τὸ πλοῖον* after *ὑποζ.*, and referring the 'undergirding' to the *σκάφη*, for which purpose they used thongs of cowhide. Further on in v. 38 *ιστόν* is proposed for *σίτον* which seems very probable, as *ἐκβολὴν ἱποιοῦντο* occurred in v. 18. Many of the views of Breusing, Cartault, de la Gravière, Graser, Torr, and others are freely criticized. *Observationes palaeographicae ad Isidorum Hispalensem*, J. W. Beck. A collation of a Groningen MS. of the 10th or 11th cent. 'quem nemo adhuc, quod sciam, paulo diligentius tractare conatus est.' (1) *De Etymologiarum libris*, (2) *Liber de Natura Rerum*, (3) *De Anthologia Isidoriana*. (4) *De chronico minore*. *Propertiana* (continued), C. M. Francken. Discusses (1) the legal position of Cynthia, see ii. 7, (2) the *Hylas elegy* (i. 20). *Cicero's de Lucretio iudicium*, J. v. L. Rewrites ad Q. Fr. ii. 9, 3 as follows,

Lucretii poemata, ut scribis, ita sunt: multis luminibus ingenii; incullae tamen artis. Si ad finem (?) veneris, virum te putabo [see Class. Rev. sup. p. 3816]. *Ad Xenophontis et Arriani opuscula*, H. van Herwerden. Various emendations. *Studia Lucretiana* (continued), J. Woltjer, On the omission and transposition of verses. *Apuleius-Lucianus*, J. v. d. V. Fills up a gap in Apuleius from Lucian. *Commentatio critica altera in Hesychium*, H. van Herwerden. Deals with α—ι. *Observatiunculae de jure Romano* (continued), J. C. Naber. This article treats of the three kinds of *lex*, viz. *nata, lata, data*. *Ad Thucydides* ii. 49, J. v. L. Maintains that many words in this description of the plague are explanatory marginal notes which have crept into the text. A specimen is given.

Part 4. *Codices Apulei Italici*, J. van der Vliet. A short account of the various codd. of Ap. in Rome, Naples, Venice, Milan, and Florence (besides the two well-known Laurentines). *Commentatio critica altera in Hesychium* (continued), H. van Herwerden. Deals with κ—ω. *Notulae ad Nepotem*, P. H. Damsté. Various emendations. *Ad Ciceronem* (Pro Archia § 9), P. Thomas. Reads *Hic igitur tabulis sine ulla litura nomen A. Licinii videtis*. *Ad compositionem Iliadis*, M. Valetón. A long criticism of a very subjective character, dissecting the Iliad and pointing out those portions which the writer considers to belong to the original poem. The main contention is that, as neither the *Προσβεία*, nor the plan of Zeus, nor the *Μήνιδος ἀπόρρησις* can be reconciled with the *Πατρόκλεια* while the *Προσβεία* and the *Μήνιδος ἀπόρρησις* hang together, the *Πατρόκλεια* was not part of the original poem. The *Πατρόκλεια* was added on, not to the complete poem, but to the poem when it had been mutilated by the excision of the *Προσβεία* and the *Μήνιδος ἀπόρρησις*. Yet the old form lasted side by side with the new until the time of the writer who joined both and added the *κόλον μάχης*. *Emendatur Aristophan. Pac.* 451, H. v. H. Reads *ῥ* for *ῥ* with great improvement to the sense.

Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Ed. E. Wölfflin. Vol. ix. Part 3. 1895.

The editor contributes the following articles—*Zur Zahlensymbolik*, chiefly on the numbers seven and nine with a specimen article for the Thesaurus on these numbers: *Das Adverbium recens: Suilla, Sulla*, on the probable connexion between these two words: *Die Lokalsätze im Lateinischen*, dealing especially with correlative words: and *Der generelle Plural der Eigennamen*, these plurals are much commoner in the 2nd and 3rd declensions than in the 1st. The principal article in this number is one of 90 pp. by G. Landgraf, *Glossographie und Wörterbuch*. The same writer also contributes a note on *Die Accusativform inguinem bei Ennius* a form which has hitherto been known only from Schol. ad Juv. x. 238. O. Hey has specimen articles on *accessus* and *accido*.

MISCELLAN. *Accessio-accessus*, O. Hey. *Accessus* does not appear before Cicero, and not at all in Caesar. It may be a later substitute for *accessio*,

after the latter had taken the meaning of *προσθήκη*. *Hirquitallus*, E. Lattes. Properly = a young wolf. *Compile—Concipulare*, J. v. d. Vliet. Valde in den Briefen an Cicero, F. Abbott. Cicero found this word in the speech of his educated contemporaries and introduced it into literary prose. *Decies milies*, C. Weyman. In the vulgate of the Novellae *decies milies* is constantly used to represent *μυρία* and *μυριάς* in the sense of 'a round number.'

Rheinisches Museum. Vol 50. Part 3. 1895.

Aviens ora maritima, F. Marx. A description of this work of Avienus and its original Greek sources. *Aischylos und der Areopag*, F. Cauer. We learn from the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* that in 457/6 was passed a law admitting the Zeugitae to the Archonship, and so in due course to the Areopagus. It is probably against this new law that Aesch. gives a warning in Eum. 690–695. *Ueber das angebliche Testament Alexanders des Grossen*, A. Ausfeld. Maintains that the foundation of this document is a forged will composed in 321 by the opponents of Antipater, and traced to one Olkias or Holkias, an official of the Macedonian court, who was said to have received it from the hands of Alexander. Later a Rhodian composed a second will, but only probably to serve the interests of his own country and friends. These two have been blended. *Zur Überlieferung des älteren Seneca*, M. Ihm. To show that cod. Riccardianus (B) at Florence stands in the closest relationship with Vat. 5219 saec. xv. (called by H. J. Müller v). *Topographie und Mythologie*, S. Curtius. On the local worship of Apollo and Hercules. Protests against the statement in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. 'Apollo,' p. 460, that he (E. Curtius) has represented Apollo as an Ionian 'Stammgott.' *Thessalos, der Sohn des Peisistratos*, J. M. Stahl. On the contradiction between the statement in Arist. Polit. Athen. that Thessalos was the cause of the overthrow of the Peisistratidae, and the traditional account as given by Thucydides (vi. 54–59). There is probably some mistake in Ar.'s text: as it stands it is also in conflict with Ar. Rhet. ii. 24 § 5. *Platon's Sophistes in geschichtlicher Beleuchtung*, O. Apelt. A long art. of 60 pp. divided as follows: (1) the Sophistic logic, (2) Plato's Sophist, (3) Formulae of comparison and judgment, (4) Difference, contradiction, opposition, (5) Not-Being, (6) Modern Platonism. *Blitz- und Regenwunder an der Marcus-Säule*, E. Petersen. with three illustrations of the column. Admits that the legend was not entirely the creation of the column, but maintains that the latter influenced the legend. An answer to Harnack [see also Class. Rev. sup. p. 141 b].

MISCELLAN. *Varia*, L. Radermacher. On the confusion between *καί* and *καὶ* in codd. *Zu den Sprüchen des Publilius* [commonly but erroneously called Publius Syrus], O. Brugmann. Various emendations. *Zu den Anticatoenen des Caesar*, A. Dyroff. There was only one *Anticato* by Caesar, the other was by Hirtius. *Das Aquilicium*, E. Hoffmann. The *lapis manalis* is a symbol of the Manes, and is not connected with *manare*. *Sardi venales*, E. Hoffmann. Suggests that the original expression was *Surti venales*.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

FOREIGN BOOKS.

- Aristoteles.* Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca, edita consilio et auctoritate academiae litterarum regiae borussicae. Vol. IV. Pars IV. (Ammonius, in Aristotelis categorias commentarius, ed. Ad. Busse). 8vo. xxii, 144 pp. Berolini, Reimer. 6 Mk.
- Catalogue d'antiquités trouvées en Grèce. (Vases peints; Terres cuites de Tanagra; Bronzes; Poids grecs; Marbres; Broderies byzantines.) 8vo. 31 pp. and 12 plates. Paris, Rollin.
- Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale, publié sous les auspices de l'Académie des inscriptions par MM. Ern. Babelon et J. A. Blanchet. 8vo. xlv, 768 pp., 1100 engravings. Paris, Leroux.
- Euripidis Helena, ad novam codicum Laurentianorum factam a G. Vitellio collationem recogn. et adnot. H. van Herwerden. Acced. analecta tragica. 8vo. xii, 105 pp. Leiden. 4 Mk. 50.
- Galenus.* Kalbfleisch (K.) Die neuplatonische fälschlich dem Galen zugeschriebene Schrift *Πρὸς Ταίτορον περὶ τοῦ πᾶς ἐμφυχοῦνται τὰ ἔμβρυα*, aus der Pariser Handschrift zum ersten Male herausgegeben. 4to. 80 pp., 2 facsimile plates. Boards. Berlin, Reimer. 6 Mk. 50.
- (Aus 'Abhandlungen der K. preuss. Akademie.')
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- Kern* (G.) Im Dionysostheater zu Athen. Ein Versuch. 8vo. 17 pp. Frankfurt.
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